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CALIFORNIA HISTORY

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California Artists—

The Compatibility of Light and Land

Many Californians know that in southern California there is an almost unbearable lightness of being. Some explain it as flakiness or superficiality; they say that in southern California—especially in Los Angeles—there is no substance, there is only superficiality, an intolerable light-weight sensibility rules. Others explain that unbearable lightness as something completely different, but its essence is just as hard to capture, just as fleeting, just as ephemeral. They say it has to do with atmospheric conditions that affect visibility. No, it's not that old inversion layer–smog cliché. It's the light itself: the bright white—some say golden—southern California light. Literally, it colors everything that it touches in all the towns and megalopolises, in the mountains, in the valleys, in the deserts, on the beaches, and in the breaches. Though the light emanates from the same source that illuminates the whole planet, the quality of light beamed down by the sun in this region seems distinct from other places.

One thing is certain: images of California that are known worldwide have been shaped by the quality of light in these latitudes. For example, light dominates painting, particularly the work of plein-air artists, those who followed a California tradition of working outdoors, a practice that pre-dates the French moniker distinguishing a new generation from predecessors who finished their pictures at studio easels after field sketching. The play of light on California landforms and vegetation attracted and nurtured artists, modeling their vision, brightening their palettes, lifting their brushstrokes. Among them were Marion Kavanagh Wachtel and Edgar Alwin Payne, and their spouses. Elsie and Edgar Payne, and Marion and Elmer Wachtel and their companions who peopled the art scenes in Laguna, Pasadena, and other southern California spots, for the most part were drawn here from the Midwest and East. In California, the spectacular and dramatic vista, punctuated by infused light, established a compatibility between painter and subject. That compatibility lays the cornerstone of their work; it provides the leading edge and the defining wedge for delineating the astonishing beauty of the state, as well as the Southwestern regions beyond. The result is an abiding regional style that perpetuates unforgettable, freeze-frame scenic images of both past and present.

Edgar Payne (1883-1947), founder of the Laguna Beach Art Association, and his wife, Elsie Palmer Payne (1884-1971), traveled frequently to Canyon de Chelly, the Grand Canyon, and especially the Sierra Nevada. Multiple high-altitude painting trips yielded canvases by the score, gained Payne a reputation as a mountain painter, and inspired the naming of Payne Lake in Fresno County, just northwest of Mount Goethe, to honor him. Payne's artistic voice is still heard on the pages of the book he authored in 1941; sixty years after publication, Composition of Outdoor Painting *is in its sixth edition.*

Formally trained at the Art Institute in Chicago and later in San Francisco, the artistic ingenue Marion Kavanagh (1876-1954) was referred to Elmer Wachtel (1864-1929) by her teacher, the eminent William Keith. When Elmer met Marion in southern California in1903, the two painters discovered an immediate affinity. They married, and developed a marvelous painting partnership in which they depicted the same subjects but never competed directly. The key to their success was in utilizing distinct media: oils for him and watercolors—in which she excelled beyond all others in the state—for her. Their compatibility with nature extended to their personal relationship; only after Elmer's death did Marion dip into oils. The couple traveled extensively on painting trips, mostly to the Southwest and Mexico, but Marion's wistful southern California scenes, such as the one on the cover, made her fame. To this day her gnarled California oaks and eucalyptus-studded foregrounds, backlit by distant purple mountains set against a translucent sky, are southern California icons.

Janet R. Fireman
Editor

On the Front Cover: Marion Kavanagh Wachtel (1876–1954), *Valley Scene,* tempera on board, *20 1/2 by 31 1/2 in. Natural History Museum of Los Angeles County, History Collections.* On the Back Cover: Edgar Payne (1882–1947), *Hillside Glow,* oil on canvas, 18 by 20 in. *Natural History Museum of Los Angeles County, History Collections.*

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Alexander Harmer (1856–1925) is considered by some to be southern California's first significant painter. His wife was Felicidad (Pinchona) Abadie, daughter of a Californio ranchero family in Santa Barbara, whose lifelong friends and relatives became the subjects for many of Harmer's genre paintings. In this oil painting, ca. 1890, Don Antonio and Doña Mariana Coronel (neé Williamson) are shown dressed in clothes that were already a half-century out of date. Hispanophile Charles F. Lummis styled and photographed the Coronels in the arbor outside their Los Angeles home to evoke the romanticized notion of the Hispanic past that he championed. *California Historical Society/Ticor Title and Trust Photograph Collection, Department of Special Collections, USC.*

"Here the Society is United"

"Respectable" Anglos and Intercultural Marriage in Pre-Gold Rush California

by Deborah Moreno

In the dramatic swings of early California history, from the fantasy heritage of Spanish Arcadia to the fantasy heritage of Aztlán in the American Southwest, intercultural marriages between Californios and foreigners have appeared then sometimes disappeared from the story. Now they fit our interpretation of historical identities and values, now they don't. Now they are significant or romantic, now they are insignificant or distasteful. Regardless of trends in the politics of ethnicity, the merchant-class foreign traders and their propertied-class Californio wives contributed to a multicultural society in which class and gender distinctions were clearly of more consequence than their ethnic differences.[1] In this context, the interpretation of foreign contact in early nineteenth century California must embrace the complexity of different classes and different stages of contact.

The respected class of foreign (European and Yankee) traders arriving in California aboard sailing ships of the 1820s and thirties differed in many ways from the rougher class, of primarily frontier farmers, trudging down the overland trails beginning in the 1840s. Foreign traders and Californios alike distinguished between the "respectable" and "low-born" or "evil elements" of their societies.

This distinction between foreign traders and frontier farmers further dispels the notion of a conquering "Anglo" monolith. The traders' historical experience, economic interest, world view, and subsequent behavior in California were generally quite different than those of the frontier farmers. Traders throughout the world have often represented the first stage of contact between one culture already settled in a land and a foreign culture. Frequently, foreign traders and their trading partners established mutually beneficial trading relationships; traders often found it in their economic interest to learn the language and adopt the customs of the country. The next stage of contact was generally with frontier farmers, who had an economic interest in land and usually caused conflict with their predecessors on that land.[2] Such was surely the case with Americans in Mexican California.

Since nearly all of the intercultural marriages during California's Mexican period, from 1822 to 1846, were between foreign traders and Californio women of the propertied class, their intercultural families became a significant proportion of California's preconquest elite. California mission records show that approximately 15 percent of the marriages recorded in California during the Mexican period were intercultural.[3] The proportion of intercultural families in California, indicated by mission marriage records, was further augmented by intercultural families coming to California from throughout Latin America, especially from along the Pacific coast, and from New Mexico.[4]

Contemporary observers noted the prevalence of multicultural marriages in California. For example, in 1841 Sir George Simpson, governor-in-chief of the Hudson's Bay Company territories in North America, sailed from Liverpool, England, on a voyage around the world. Upon arrival in California, he found that

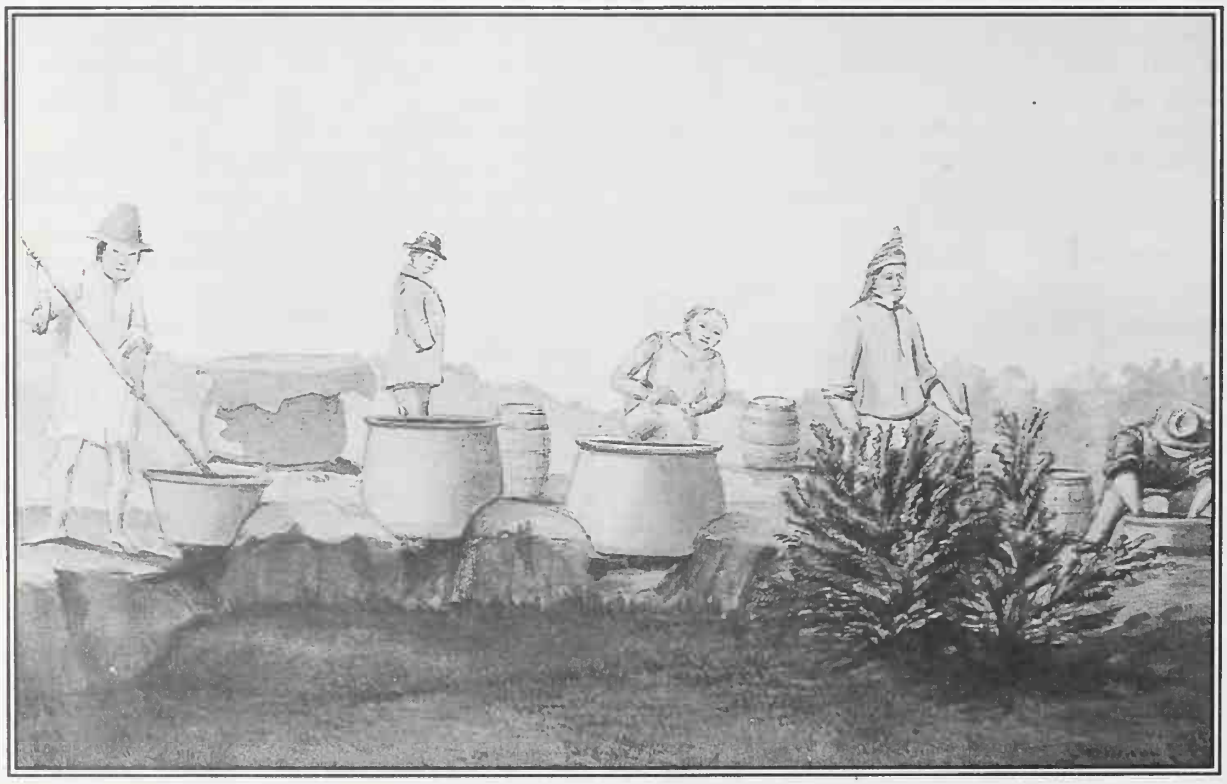
> the foreigners are to the Californians as one to ten; while by their monopoly of trade and their command of resources . . . they already possess vastly more than

their numerical proportion of political influence, exciting but little jealousy, most of them being Catholic [generally a pre-condition for marriage] and married [to Californian women] Foreigners and natives [native Californians] cordially mingle together as members of one and the same harmonious family. The virtue of hospitality knows no bounds.[5]

The harmony Simpson described in his memoir existed, for the most part, among propertied Californians and foreign traders of many nations.

By 1840, just six years before the Mexican-American War began, there were nearly 7,000 Californios in Alta California, less than 1,000 of whom were adult males.[6] Historian Hubert Howe Bancroft later estimated that about 380 foreigners had settled among them by that time, "not including roving trappers and horse thieves in the interior." Bancroft declared that of those foreigners, "as a class there is not much to be said beyond the fact that they constituted an influential and highly respected element of the population, largely controlling the commercial industry of the country [Alta California]. Many were naturalized, married to Californian wives, and the possessors of land in their adopted country; while many more counted on securing all those advantages at an early date."[7] Records show that of the nine hundred land grants issued to families in California by the end of the Mexican period, almost 30 percent went to "immigrants."[8]

The foreign traders who married Californianas—and fathered a generation of multicultural Californians before the wagon trains arrived—had generally come from port and coastal areas or islands, areas connected by ship and trade to people and cultures of many lands. A few of these men



This William Rich Hutton watercolor, *Trying out the Tallow Monterey,* illustrates the process of rendering or extracting the fat as part of the hide and tallow industry of early California. By the 1830s, sailors, merchants, and traders of many nationalities had begun to do business in California. *Courtesy Huntington Library, San Marino, Calif.*

vere well educated and from well-to-do families. A greater number were literate but from more modest backgrounds. By the time they were fourteen, many had apprenticed to a whaler, a trade ship, or a merchant. Before they reached California as single young men, often still in their early twenties, they had spent time in South America or the Pacific islands.

As part of the new Republic of Mexico, California in 1822 officially opened its borders to foreigners and foreign trade, thus launching a lucrative hide and tallow business. California raw materials, primarily cattle hides and tallow (animal fat used especially to make candles and soap), were exchanged for goods manufactured throughout the world. William Edward Petty Hartnell from Lancashire, England, was the first trader to arrive in California after independence. Hartnell and his Scots partner had just begun to establish business agreements with the mission fathers when Yankee competition arrived in the form of Boston trader William Gale. Like most of the foreign traders that followed them, both Hartnell and Gale adopted the customs of Mexican California and married Californio women of the propertied class.[9]

Some of the seafaring traders in Mexican California were also multicultural themselves, which likely affected their attitudes toward other cultures. For example, William Alexander Leidesdorff, a wealthy shipmaster who later became U.S. Vice-Consul to Mexican California, was born in the Danish West Indies to a "mulatto" mother and a Danish planter. James Peace ("Paz" in Spanish records) was born in the Orkney Islands in the north of Scotland "of Scotch and Danish parentage." While Bancroft noted that he may have married a Valencia in the mid-1830s, his marriage to Maria Guadalupe (no designated surname), recorded at Mission Santa Clara in 1845, was one of the rare recorded trader marriages to an Indian neophyte. Luis Pombert, who married María Filomena Pico in Monterey in 1830, was French Canadian. He was probably the son of a French trader and a native or multicultural mother.[10] William Heath Davis was also a product of what he called "the mingling of the different nationalities." His father and his maternal grandfather were prominent members of Honolulu's American community in the early days of the China trade; his maternal grandmother was native Hawaiian. Davis married María de Jesus Estudillo in San Francisco in 1847, and they had thirteen California-born children.[11]



Maria Paula Rosalia Vallejo Leese was the sister of famed General Mariano Vallejo, a leading Californio military leader and citizen. Against her brother's wishes, she married Ohio native Thomas Leese, a trader, in 1837. She became one of many California women to marry Americans or men of other cultures. *California Historical Society, FN–25807.*



California merchant William Alexander Leidesdorff married an Indian neophyte, but he himself was a product of multicultural marriage. Historian Hubert Howe Bancroft noted that in 1846, he was involved in "controversies" with other citizens who "were not intensely American enough." *Courtesy The Bancroft Library.*



An iconic depiction of rancho women in 1830. The creator of this lithograph, Carlos Nebel, was an American painter who studied in Europe before moving to Mexico in 1829 to spend five years illustrating scenes of Mexican life, many of which were paralleled in California. Later, Nebel painted a series of lithographs illustrating the Mexican war. *Courtesy Natural History Museum, Los Angeles County.*



American merchant William Heath Davis married a woman from a Californio family and wrote extensively in praise of the people he met in California. *California Historical Society/Title Insurance and Trust Photograph Collection, Department of Special Collections, USC.*

French and Irish immigrants to Mexican California were not the only non-Hispanic foreigners who were probably Catholic before they arrived. For example, the Monterey priest who married Edward Bale to María Ignacia Soberanes in 1839 noted that Bale was "the legitimate son of Juan Bal (Protestant) and Ana Turner (Catholic)."[12] Contemporary sources identify James Alexander Forbes as a Scotsman, but he may in fact have been multicultural, Scots and Spanish, and Catholic. Forbes, who later became British Vice-Consul to Mexican California, was reportedly born to Sir Edward John Forbes, a royal physician in Inverness, Scotland. When Forbes married María Ana Galindo at Mission Santa Clara in 1834, his parents' names were recorded as Juan Alonzo Forbes and Marta Rodriguez. Records and family tradition indicate that Forbes was twelve when he left Scotland for South America with his uncle, Francisco Rodriguez, who arranged his (Catholic) Jesuit education. He was a strong supporter of California's Santa Clara College, established by Jesuits in 1851.[13]

The American traders were often capable of a

broader perspective in intercultural relations than their fellow Americans. These sea-faring men came mostly from the eastern coastal states and arrived in California before a virulent Protestant Anglo-Saxonism had overcome Enlightenment ideals in the United States. Historian Reginald Horsman has documented that, especially prior to 1850, "those Americans who lived on the eastern seaboard" thought in more "Atlantic and universal terms" than their fellow Americans. He attributed the "greater detachment" of Easterners to greater physical and economic distance from cultural conflict on the frontier and to the fact that Enlightenment ideals were more likely to prevail among the commercial and intellectual classes.[14]

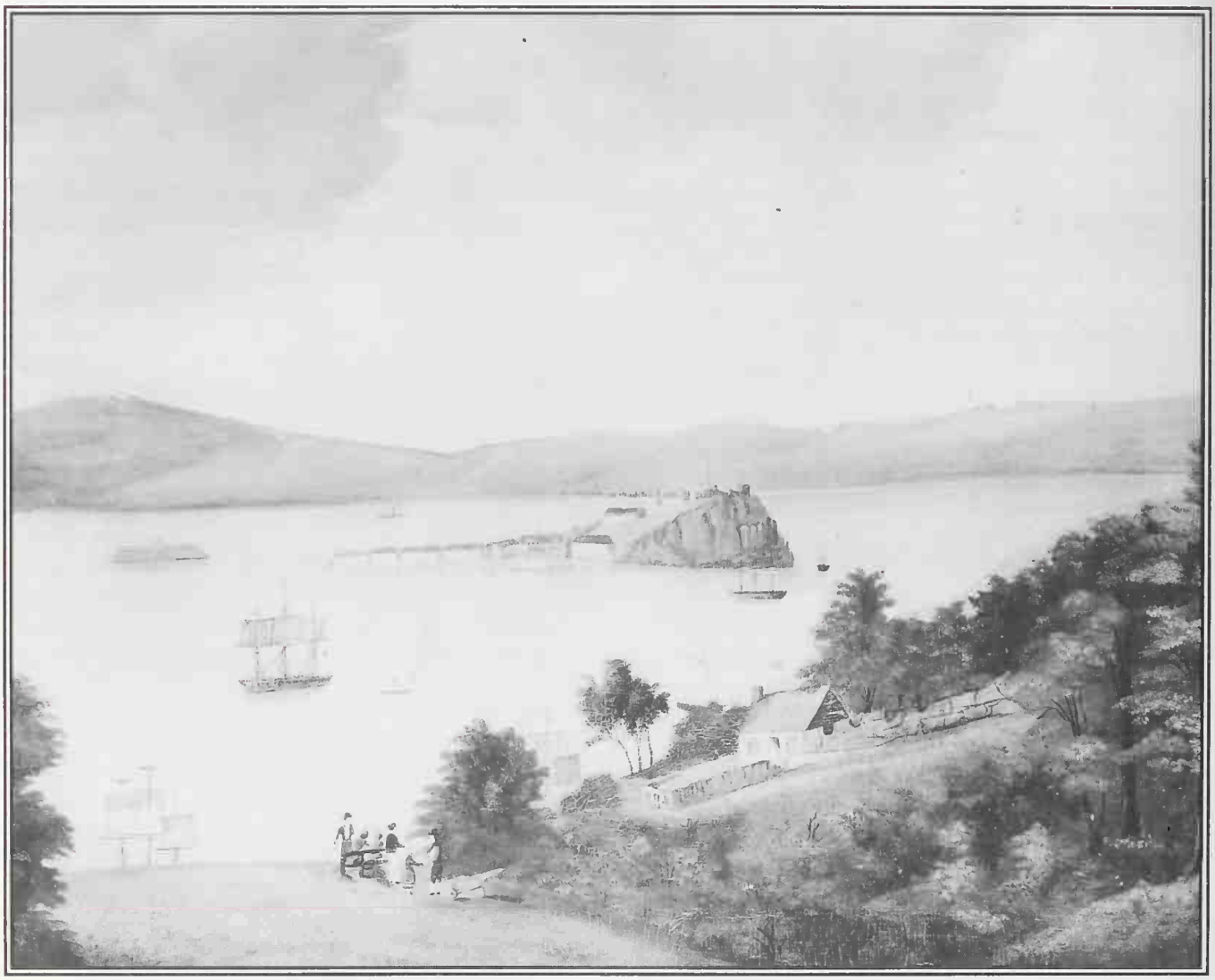
While no one was free of prejudice and ethnocentrism, neither the traders' eastern origins nor their economic interests predisposed these Americans to the staunch Anglo-Saxonism that generally entered California via the overland trails beginning in the early 1840s. If well-traveled traders in California generally thought in more "universal terms," frontier farmers were often more prone to views of their cultural superiority.[15] While traders arrived in California seeking commercial opportunities, frontier farmers went there to claim "free" land, a situation that often led them toward a competitive and hostile relationship with Hispanic and Indian predecessors on the land. The traders, predominantly single men, generally married Californian women and adopted the customs of their new homeland; frontier farmers generally arrived in family groups, which tended to remain separate from Californian culture. The traders, who married and settled in California, formed a relatively united society with their propertied neighbors, while frontier farmers often systematically opposed Californian society. It was not without reason that John L. O'Sullivan, the American who coined the phrase "manifest destiny," wrote in 1845: "The Anglo-Saxon foot is already on its [California's] borders. Already the advance guard of the irresistible army of Anglo-Saxon emigration has begun to pour down upon it, armed with the *plough* and the rifle [emphasis added]"[16]

The children of California's intercultural unions remembered growing up in a notably multicultural society of the landowning class in which they were increasingly accustomed to foreign visitors. Stephen (Martínez) Richardson,[17] son of María Antonia Martínez and William Richardson, remembered riding horseback "through the wonderful forestland and ridges overlooking the sea" to visit northern California neighbors who were mostly multicultural. He said his nearest neighbors were the family of "Irishman John Reed (or Read) and Hilaria Sánchez, living at the Rancho Corte Madera del Presidio." Nearby, were Captain John B. Rogers Cooper on the Rancho Punta de Quentin; Timothy Murphy, an Englishman at San Rafael; James Black, a Scotsman; and farther on, two Irishmen and an American. He recalled that all of them were "subjects of Mexico and all except Murphy married to Spanish women." He also remembered "a number of Kanaka [Hawaiian] friends" and the English sea captains, whom his English father entertained "in a rather slavish way." Stephen spoke of week-long entertainments at the rancho with "at the very least a hundred smiling guests."[18] His sister Mariana remembered frequent visits of foreign officers who bought wheat, lumber, and supplies at her family's Rancho Sausalito. She wrote that English and Russian officers frequently dined with the Richardson family and invited them to "grand" dinners and dances aboard their ships.[19]

A sort of class solidarity linked trading partners in their commercial relationships. They generally perceived one another as respectable members of the same cosmopolitan society. In fact, that society explains why so many of California's foreign traders decided to settle in California. When James Henry Gleason of Plymouth, Massachusetts, defended his decision to remain in California, he mentioned to his sister the three most typical reasons: wealth, status, and a Californian woman:

> You are very anxious for me to come home. I believe you dear Sister, but why destroy the fine prospects that are now presented to me . . . what would be my chance of becoming wealthy in Plymouth I can see none, but here there is a prospect. I am received into the highest society and respected far more than I would be at home. . . . [and] to be honest about it I am engaged to the Belle of Monterey!
>
> I never was more pleased with a spot on earth . . . here the society is united which makes our public balls and parties pass in the most harmonious manner, and here has grown my affection for Kate Watson [Catarina, daughter of Mariana Escamilla and James E. Watson].[20]

William Heath Davis may have spoken for many like Gleason when he said: "the intermarriage of the for-



The area around Yerba Buena (renamed San Francisco) was sparsely populated, as depicted in this charming painting, ca. 1830s. The harbor later became a bustling gathering place for international exchange on multiple social and economic levels. *California Historical Society, FN-32462.*

eigners in early times with the Californians produced a fine race of children, who partook of the characteristics of both parents. The stock, as usual, was improved by the mingling of the different nationalities."[21]

There were, of course, Yankees who chose not to settle in California. Rather than Davis, California historians prefer to quote visiting sailor and critic Richard Henry Dana, who had an entirely different view of the blended culture. As historian Douglas Monroy wrote, "Richard Henry Dana, as usual grossly mistaking Californio aspirations toward gentility for indolence, [said] 'The Americans . . . and Englishmen . . . are indeed more industrious and effective than the Mexicans; yet their children are brought up Mexicans in most respects, and if the 'California fever' (laziness) spares the first generation, it is likely to attack the second.'"[22] Monroy also points out that while Californios may have appeared indolent by standards of the Protestant ethic, industrious Californianas "appeared 'correct' because both patriarchies agreed on the way women were supposed to act."[23]

Propertied Californian families—most of whom had only recently acquired land, servants, and social status themselves—were notably class conscious.

Davis remembered that "among the Californians there was more or less caste, and the wealthier families were somewhat aristocratic and did not associate freely with the humbler classes; in towns, the wealthy families were decidedly proud and select, the wives and daughters especially."[24] Historian Gloria Miranda also refers to the class-based selectivity among California's "elite socio-political group who perpetuated their newly acquired privileged standing in the community by way of continued intermarriage among themselves."[25]

While Californians' daughters did not marry into the "humbler classes," most of whom were servants, vaqueros, and day laborers, they were pleased to marry members of what they considered their own status or "respectable society." This society clearly included respectable foreigners if those foreigners would adopt Catholicism, which nearly all of the early traders who settled in California agreed to do.

Unfortunately, primary sources have not yielded more information by which to interpret the perspective of the Californian wives and daughters in this story. Their views inevitably surface primarily through the lens of the traders and therefore, it must be understood that these class-based alliances were motivated at least as much by economics as they were by more intimate considerations. Formal marriage negotiations were generally conducted between Californio fathers and prospective foreign husbands. A daughter's power to marry the "respectable" man of her choice rested almost entirely in her persuasive abilities to influence her parents: her mother as a potential ally and her father as the final decision-maker. Intimate relationships with the "humbler class," intercultural or otherwise, were far less likely to lead to marriage.[26]

The bicultural children of these intercultural marriages generally identified themselves with "respectable society" or the "rich" class, at least throughout their formative years. As a rule, they grew up in a privileged, cosmopolitan environment and never knew life without servants until after the American takeover. In their memoirs, Mariana (Martínez) Richardson and her brother Stephen referred to the class distinction and alluded to the effect it had on their expectations in an entirely matter-of-fact way; it was simply taken for granted. Mariana explained, for example, that "the poorer class of white [Californiana] women had good, clean clothes, such as calico and muslin, the rich having silks, etc."[27] Stephen, who once considered himself "heir to a great patrimony," described rancho vaqueros and servants as "either full blooded Indians or those who had a trace of Spanish blood."[28]



Ana María Galindo Forbes, shown here in later life, was the daughter of a large, land-owning family in northern California. In 1834, she married James Alexander Forbes, Sr., a Scotland native who later became British consul to Mexican California. *California Historical Society/Title Insurance and Trust Photograph Collection, Department of Special Collections, USC.*

James Alexander Forbes, Sr., appeared to be making the same class distinction in letters he wrote to his multicultural sons throughout the 1860s. When James Alexander, Jr., eluded some kind of trouble by his sudden voyage to Baja California, his father cautioned another son to remember "your sacred obligations towards your brother in misfortune" even though it had been Alexander Junior's own "imprudence" that "brought him within the clutches of the enemies of his race and family." Forbes the elder was apparently referring to the Spanish or Californian "race" of his wife, Ana María Galindo. Elsewhere, Forbes informed his son that "Old Secondino Robles is near my labor [a quicksilver vein] with some other greasers at work by permission." Here he clearly did not equate "greaser" with the "race" of

his wife and children--even though Secondino Robles had also been born in California.[29] William Thomes, Boston publisher and author, in a single paragraph of his California memoir apparently made the same class distinction between "a ranchero, mounted on a splendid-looking horse" and "a greaser" in San Francisco.[30] The term greaser originally referred to lower-class Californians who carried the "greasy" balls of tallow to the clipper ships on their backs. After the American conquest, greaser became a derogatory term used especially by "low-born" Americans to indicate Californios and Mexicans in general.[31]

When Thomas (Escamilla) Watson, multicultural son of Mariana Escamilla and James Watson, dictated his memoir in 1875, he attempted to discredit two men who he believed had caused him to lose a land deal by drawing class distinctions. He declared that Jacinto Rodríguez, who "up to 1835 used to walk barefooted the circuitous streets of Monterey," was "low born, had little courage in his young days, [and] but no education imparted to him due to the poverty of his parents. . . ." Watson claimed that Ignacio Esquerra "was born in Sonora and eked out a living selling bad whiskey to drunken Indians . . . his education had been wonderfully neglected, he could hardly read or write. . . ."[32]

Californios did not generally identify themselves as Mexican. Stephen (Martínez) Richardson, introduced earlier, emphasized that Californians "held themselves superior to Mexicans," although this did not appear to be true in their attitudes toward elite Mexicans who settled in California either before or after the conquest. He declared that "little love was wasted between California and Mexico during the brief period of Mexican rule." This attitude was borne out by others. When the multicultural children and Californians in general remembered the time before "this country was taken by the Americans," the country they referred to was not Mexico but California.

Richardson occasionally limited his definition of "true Californians" to those people born into "old" Californian families of the "respectable" class. He argued, for example, that while "it is true that many bearing Spanish names were among the early and desperate criminals of the State, . . . [they had] proceeded from two distinct strains with which the true Californians had no relations and nothing in common." He declared that one "strain" was the California-born children of "wild" (rather than "Mission") Indian mothers and Mexican-convict fathers, while the other group "came direct from Mexico during the gold rush, just as the criminals of every land headed for California."[33]

Color consciousness, a legacy of conquest that still exists in North and South America, went hand-in-hand with class consciousness in Californian society. As Spanish borderlands historian Herbert E. Bolton documented, Spanish policy was not to remove and exterminate the Indian people (as in the United States), but to assimilate and exploit them. Because of their own multicultural history, Californians associated lighter skin with Spanish "blood" and higher status, while they associated darker skin with African or Indian "blood" and lower status.[34]

Most children born to intercultural unions of the propertied class, especially those born before 1840, grew up in households with Indian servants. "Indians were practically the sole source of agricultural labor [in early nineteenth century California], " historian Albert Hurtado writes, "and whites used every possible means to obtain their services. Slavery, debt peonage, and wage labor all had a place in Mexican and Anglo California."[35] In their memoirs, Stephen and Mariana Richardson failed to recognize the distinct Indian cultures of their rancho vaqueros and servants or to acknowledge the Indian heritage of "Spanish Californians." They referred only to "civilized" or Mission Indians, and to "wild" Indians. In their view, "civilized" Indians were faithful, honest, and content to be their "excellent servants."

Despite their class bias, Stephen and Mariana spoke respectfully of the Mission Indians. Stephen argued that they were "capable artisans" with an intelligence "that might have led to large things" before the Americans hastened their extinction. He said that in his youth "practically all the whites acquired the Indian language, for the Indians did nearly all the work of the country. [After learning Spanish,] I learned Indian myself long before I could speak English, despite my British father." Richardson emphasized that native Californians were shocked by "rough" or low-born Americans' "revolting" behavior toward California Indians during the Gold Rush, including frequent acts of rape and murder against them. Mariana specified that Indian women took "good care of children, were fine cooks,



Whether through marriage or architecture, the blending of Californio and American styles and traditions was unmistakable, visible in the design of this house built by American trader Thomas Larkin shortly after arriving in California. Larkin used materials typical of Californio buildings—adobe and local woods—but the symmetrical, two-story design of the Monterey home was distinctly American. *Courtesy California State Library.*

and very trustworthy." She wrote with disdain about "great stories of the outbreaks of Indians and their cruelties to the Americans . . . Indians were a peaceable race and never molested the Americans or anybody else unless they were driven to do so by others depriving them of their own rights."[36]

Light-skinned foreigners surely benefited from the belief in a connection between color and economic success held by many Californian women and their parents. An American marine, Second Lt. Henry Bulls Watson, describing his experience while stationed in California between 1845 and 1848, claimed that he was "informed that the females of California prefer by large odds the Americans for husbands" because "the Americans love to work, they have good houses and plenty to live on and make kind husband[s]." While the actual views of these Californian women regarding their suitors of various nationalities are largely lost to historians, Watson reported that during a California picnic with several ladies and gentlemen, including Generals "Viago" [perhaps Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo] and José Castro, General "Viago" remarked that "a Mexican or Californian stood no chance with the girls when an American was by."[37] According to another family tradition, some Californian women simply "liked their blue eyes."[38]

As potential partners rather than competitors, Californio women generally experienced the foreigners differently than did their male counterparts. Stories of their romantic encounters and respectful courtships with the foreign traders abound. According to William Heath Davis, María Antonia Martínez fell in love with her future husband (William A. Richardson) on first sight. When the Englishman "leaped from the boat to the landing," Martínez reportedly told her women companions, "'Oh, *que hombre tan hermoso el estranjero que desembarco del bote; el va hacer mi novio y yo voy hacer su esposa.*' ('Oh, what a handsome man that foreigner just landed from the

boat. He will be my bridegroom and I will be his wife.')" Davis himself later married Martínez's favorite niece after "my wooing of over two years [during which] I do not remember having spoken a hundred words to the young lady when we were alone, but I was permitted to converse with her in the presence of her parents, especially her mother. This was an unwritten law or custom of Spanish families from time immemorial."[39]

The Richardsons' only daughter, Mariana (Martínez) Richardson, was one of many propertied Californio women remembered favorably by the foreigners she "graced" with her presence. Like fragments of a half-forgotten dream, she and her female contemporaries fade in and out of view in the letters and memoirs of foreign men. When the teenage William Thomes, future Boston publisher and author, first encountered Mariana and her cousin (the future Mrs. William Heath Davis) he noted both their gender and their class. Thomes hitched a ride on a hide-and-tallow ship in the early 1840s, and visited the Richardsons' extensive Sausalito ranch to fill gang-casks (small wooden casks used to bring and store water aboard ships) from the fresh-water spring:

> As the spring was too roily to fill the casks, we again wandered off in another direction . . . and came to a ranche, where we saw two handsome young ladies, who looked at us in wondering surprise . . . [The women] had many attractions for our eyes, for they were very handsome, and Lewey and I fell in love with them immediately, and deliberated whether we had not better run away, and ask them to marry us off hand, and then lead the life of a California ranchero. The ladies little suspected the impression they created on two young and susceptible hearts, and, if they had, would have laughed, for they flew at higher game than common sailor boys, as they had a right to, from position and beauty. We saw them many times afterward, when they visited the ship with their father, and they always had a pleasant smile for the French lad and myself and we were glad when we had them in our boat. They were rather diffident about conversation, and knew their stations in life, and were well aware of ours, so we seldom ventured on familiar topics unless they led up to them by asking questions about our life and standing at home."[40]

Californians and Americans alike distinguished between "the higher class of foreigners" and "the rougher class," emphasizing the importance of class rather than ethnic distinctions. For example, trader William Heath Davis reported that the respected Californio General Mariano G. Vallejo "was courteous to the higher class of foreigners, but had no taste for the companionship of the rougher class, miners, trappers and other adventurers who [sic] he denominated 'white Indians.'"[41] Antonio María Osio, a man with no love for the Americans who stole his property following the American conquest, nevertheless remembered many traders in terms quite different from the countrymen who followed them. For example, he wrote that Boston traders "Don Alfredo [Alfred] Robinson took after [Don Guillermo or William] Gale in integrity and honor and won the widespread friendship of the inhabitants of the territory," while the American "beaver hunter [Issac Graham] . . . had grown up in the forest and had received no formal education. He did not even know one letter of the alphabet."[42] Former Governor Juan Alvarado simply commiserated: "Would that the foreigners that came to settle in Alta California after 1841 had been of the same quality as those who preceded them!"[43]

In 1846, when U.S. Army Captain John C. Frémont led his rather ragged band of Bear Flaggers south from Sonoma, terrorizing and requisitioning supplies from ranchers of the surrounding countryside, Stephen (Martínez) Richardson emphatically distinguished the "raiders," most of whom he characterized as "men of limited intelligence," from "practically all the settled foreigners in the bay region [who] sympathized with the Californians in the entirely unprovoked outrages committed upon them by Frémont."[44] This view effectively counters the assessment that virtually all Anglos were simply preinvaders, if not invaders. As historian David Weber put it: "There are many viewpoints, some of them contradictory and all of them valid, even if not of equal merit."[45] With foreigners attacking and foreigners protecting Californians, the California reality was more complex than the Anglo monolith paradigm.

Davis recalled that when Frémont and his men caused "great alarm" among North Bay Californian families, those families sought the protection of a foreigner. "All the women and children, numbering one hundred and more, sought refuge at the Richardson's [Sausalito] rancho and remained there about fifteen days, camped near his residence, and he made them as comfortable as possible under the cir-



Dances and parties in the homes of wealthy Californios were sometimes opened up to Americans. This detail from an 1870s photograph of the Antonio de la Guerra *sala*, or main room, in the family's Los Angeles residence, is one example of the locations for exchange between Californio and American cultures. *Courtesy Santa Barbara Historical Society.*

cumstances." Before moving on, Frémont demanded supplies and nearly all of the horses from Richardson's and from Timothy Murphy's ranchos. According to Davis, Richardson visited and "besought [Frémont] not to permit his men to commit outrages at his home, because it was filled with helpless women and children."[46]

When the American government officially declared war against Mexico and occupied California less than a month after the Bear Flag was raised in Sonoma, only a few of the foreign men married to Californian women joined the American troops. One of few was William Brunner Richardson, a tailor from Maryland, who had married María Josefa Soberanes in 1838. He mustered into Frémont's California Battalion, joining Captain Ford's company of mounted riflemen in early October 1846, and was enrolled the same month in Sacramento. His wife and young children presumably remained at Los Coches Rancho, nearly nine thousand acres in what is now southern Monterey County that had been granted to María Josefa following her marriage. According to one document, Frémont camped at Los Coches for six months in 1846-47 and incurred a huge bill for oxen, food, and clothing, which was never paid.[47]

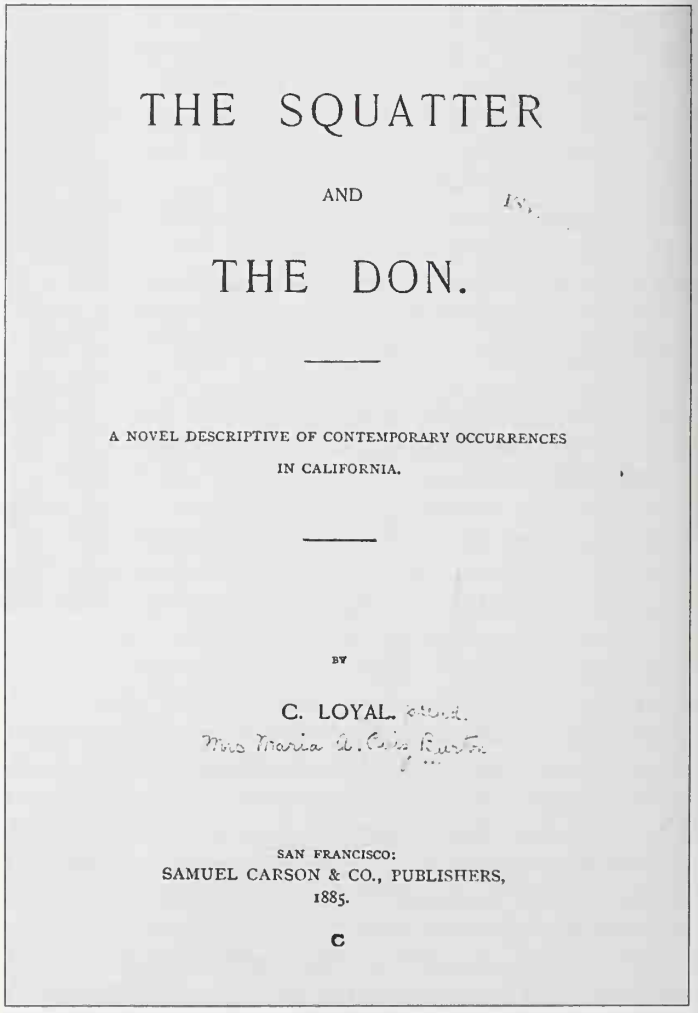
"Respectable" American men continued to admire Californian women during and after the Mexican-American War. William Rich Hutton, a twenty-one-year- old volunteer in the occupation troops, recalled that "respectable Americans as well as the Californians were always welcome" in the Monterey home of María Teresa de la Guerra and William Hartnell. Their fourteen-year-old daughter, Teresita, was a

great "favorite, and had more than one militaire at her feet. Very tall, lithe, wonderfully graceful in the waltz." He remembered Teresita's aunt, Angustias de la Guerra Jimeno, as attractive, "witty in conversation, well read in the older Spanish literature, familiar with Calderon, Lope & Quevedo. Her daughter Manuelita was a universal favorite—and several of the young officers were captured by her intelligence and the charming simplicity of her ways."[48]

In the midst of all such frivolity, Californian women apparently felt free to express their political views. According to Davis, Angustias de la Guerra Jimeno often expressed her "utter disapprobation [of the war] in the most sarcastic language; but she was so intelligent and her manner so captivating" that her American guests did not take offense. In one "patriotic outburst," she reportedly "exclaimed that she would like to have the ears of the officers of the United States squadron for a necklace, such was her hatred of the new rulers of her country." Davis added, however, that she was always quick to bestow Californian kindness on sick officers of the United States Army and Navy. Following the death of her husband, the widow Jimeno later married the American Dr. James L. Ord.[49]

Edwin Bryant, a Kentucky newspaper editor who spent 1846 in California, described the "Spanish ladies" of a Livermore family in typical fashion a few months after the United States declared war on the Republic of Mexico. In September Bryant visited Rancho Las Positas, home of Josefa Higuera and Robert Livermore in what is now the Livermore Valley. He wrote that he and his companions were "most kindly and hospitably received, and entertained by Mr. L., and his interesting family." He declared that Josefa Higuera Livermore's "natural ease, grace, and vivacity of manners and conversation, characteristic of Spanish ladies, were fully displayed from the moment of our introduction. The children, especially two or three little señoritas, were very beautiful, and manifested a remarkable degree of sprightliness and intelligence."[50]

The frequent balls and subsequent intercultural marriages indicate that American men of the "respectable class," including military officers, continued to be accepted and often welcomed by Californian women of the ranchero class and their parents during and after the American conquest. For these young women, the "respectable" foreigners generally remained potential companions rather than competitors. Author Nellie Van de Grift Sánchez, whose romantic view was at least partially informed by María (Pinto) Bonifacio's bicultural perspective, wrote that "at the time of the American Conquest, Monterey was the social center of California. Especially was it noted for its beautiful and



THE SQUATTER

AND

THE DON.

A NOVEL DESCRIPTIVE OF CONTEMPORARY OCCURRENCES IN CALIFORNIA.

BY

C. LOYAL.

Mrs Maria A. Cole y Burton

SAN FRANCISCO:
SAMUEL CARSON & CO., PUBLISHERS,
1885.

C

The title page of *The Squatter and the Don*, an 1885 tale that addressed the subject of multiculturalism in nineteenth-century California. The novel's author was listed as "C. Loyal," the pen name for María Amparo Ruiz Burton, a member of a prominent southern California family and the wife of an American brigadier general. *Courtesy California State Library.*

ıscinating young women, and among these none ʻas more admired at the bailes and tertulias that ccurred nearly every day in the old capital than enorita María Ignacia ["Nachita" (Pinto)] Bonifaio," who later discussed the balls and the Ameriıan officers with Van de Grift Sánchez. Because Jachita and many of her friends spoke no English, ıe Americans must have endeavored to communiate in Spanish.[51] It was at Monterey in August 847—during the war—that James Henry Gleason, uture husband of Kate or Catarina (Escamilla) Watson, as noted earlier, wrote: "here the society is ınited which makes our public balls and parties pass ı the most harmonious manner, and here has grown ny affection for the girl that is to cheer my whole uture days as wife—Kate Watson."[52]

Soon after the war, German Jewish immigrant Harris Newmark affirmed that there were only two lasses of people in early American California, "the espectable and the evil elements" of all nationalies. Newmark felt welcome in the homes of Catholic Californians. He believed that respectable people ʻcame together because they esteemed each other ınd liked one another's company." Because they ormed "warm and stimulating friendships" withıut regard to religion or nationality, they were "ready o fight to the last ditch for the protection of our famlies and the preservation of our homes against the evil elements of all nationalities."[53]

María Amparo Ruiz Burton's novel, *The Squatter ınd the Don* (1885), also emphasized cross-ethnic class distinctions and alliances. Historian Lisbeth Haas points out that Ruiz Burton, "married to a Lieutenant Burton from the invading American army," represented the Californio landowning elite "as class allies of the Anglo-American national elite." Haas emphasizes the fact that this contemporary author wrote "solely from the point of view of the Californio elite," noting that "all of the elite women in her novel, Californios and Americans alike . . . recognize in their regional and national counterparts a female comportment that follows class norms."[54]

While the conquest of California and the inundation of outsiders that followed in the Gold Rush clearly affected all of Californio society, its impact on women and men of the propertied class was different. Many young Californian women of "respectable society," multicultural or not, enjoyed the company of "respectable" American men who flocked to California at mid-century. They enjoyed post-conquest festivities and married Americans in ever greater numbers in the years that followed. Californian men, on the other hand, were forced rather suddenly to compete socially, sexually, and economically with a virtual avalanche of other men. Californio men, especially those with little education and less land in the post-gold rush decades, generally appear to have had more difficulty coping with the transition to American California than did their sisters. Many of these sons grew up expecting to be comfortable ranchers, yet almost immediately a majority of them lost that option. Most of the daughters, who grew up expecting to be wives and mothers, were valued in that role both before and after the American takeover.

Unlike their sisters, many young Californian men probably felt socially displaced or threatened by the flood of American men that followed the American conquest. Little evidence has emerged regarding the role of multicultural sons at post-conquest society affairs. Surely they attended the occupation dances, often held in the homes of their parents. However, they did not write of their attendance at such balls, nor did American officers describe their presence. Tiburcio Vasquez, son of respected Californio parents, referred to the post-conquest balls and parties from a young Californio man's perspective. When he explained why he had turned bandido in 1852 (at about age 17), the grievance he cited was neither political nor economic, but social. Vasquez, who remained single, stated:

> My career grew out of circumstances by which I was surrounded. As I grew to manhood I was in the habit of attending balls and parties given by the native Californians, into which the Americans, then beginning to become numerous, would force themselves and shove the native born men aside, monopolizing the dance and the women. This was about 1852. A spirit of hatred and revenge took possession of me. I had numerous fights in defense of my countrymen. The officers were continually in pursuit of me. I believed we were unjustly and wrongfully deprived of the *social rights* that belonged to us [emphasis added].[55]

In addition to gender differences, class differences also distinguished many reactions to the conquest and events that followed. For example, *San Francisco Chronicle* correspondent George A. Beers wrote that "the native Californians, especially the lower classes, never took kindly to the stars and stripes." He said "this [negative] feeling was greatly

intensified by the rough, brutal conduct of the worst class of American settlers, who never missed an opportunity to openly exhibit their contempt for the native Californian or Mexican population—designating them as 'd——d Greasers,' and treating them like dogs."[56] On the other hand, Angustias de la Guerra Ord—the same elite woman who had requested "the ears of the officers of the United States squadron for a necklace"—declared in 1878 that: "The conquest of California did not bother the Californians, least of all the women."[57] Her perspective may reflect a common (although by no means universal) view held by the women of her class, many of whom—like her—married American men.

In his later years, Davis reflected nostalgically and romanticized California's multicultural ranchero-trader society, as did many of his contemporaries. Predictably, he and other male foreigners spoke more highly of Californian women than men—-a bias that must have been noticed by Californian men. For example, Davis claimed that "During my long and intimate acquaintance with Californians, I have found the women as a class much brighter, quicker in their perceptions, and generally smarter than the men. Their husbands oftentimes looked to them for advice and direction in their general business affairs." He added that "the native Californians were about the happiest and most contented people I ever saw, as also were the early foreigners who settled among them and intermarried with them, adopted their habits and customs, and became, as it were, a part of themselves."[58]

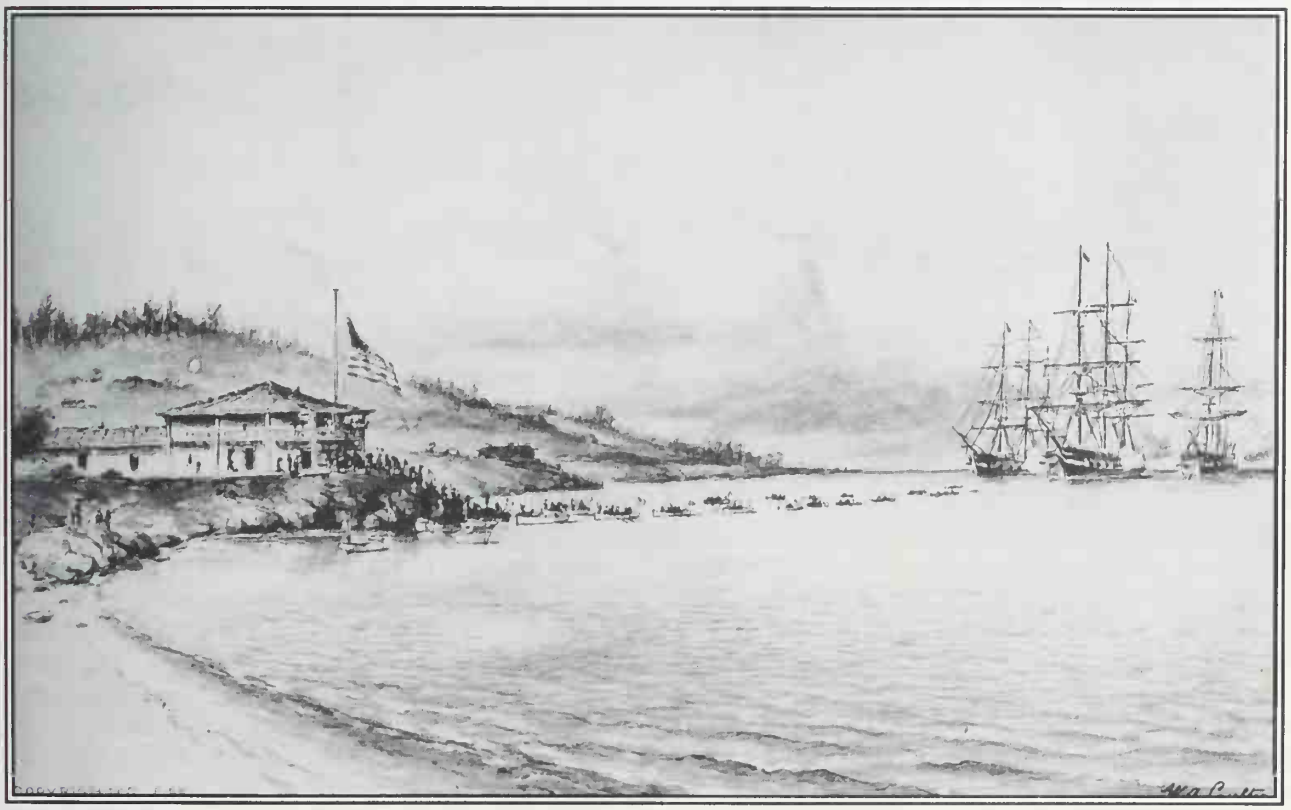
In a recent analysis of late-nineteenth-century Californio testimonials, literary historian Rosaura Sánchez both analyzes and reflects a subsequent negative view of intercultural marriages between Californio women and foreign men in early California. She notes that in some "constructs of their post-1848 acculturation as well as in their marriage to foreigners, [Californio] women are symbols of betrayal, California Malinches who accommodate to the enemy and after 1846 threaten what is left of the Californio patriarchy." Sánchez adds that "the role of Californio women as well as that of the foreigners who as settlers could be construed as a second wave of preinvaders, after the earlier arrival of the merchants, all prepar[ed] the way for the military forces and the U.S. occupation of Alta California."[59] Such a view may help explain the marginalization of intercultural society and "respectable" foreigners in the predominant California story of ethnic conflict.

An elderly Stephen Richardson, bicultural son of a Californiana mother and an English father, reflected a different view in 1918:

> The old Californians themselves are disappearing, so far as names go, for such names are maintained chiefly by the male branch. Most of the Spanish girls married Americans during the gold days, and the same tendency has prevailed down to our times. They are vivacious, witty and everlastingly good-natured—qualities that have appealed strongly to the gringo's ideals. With their large families they have left a strong infusion of Iberian blood in California, far stronger than appears on the surface. It would surprise one to find so much of it hidden under the old English, Scotch and Irish names.[60]

Thus, Richardson identified an irony that historians and women in general continue to struggle with. As women disappeared "under" their husbands' names, so did the multicultural heritage of their children and "the old Californians themselves" in the consciousness of late-twentieth-century society.

In Census 2000, Californians had their first opportunity to identify themselves as members of more than one race or ethnicity. About 4.7 percent of state residents, including 7.3 percent in the under-18 category, identified themselves as more than one race. Ramona Douglass, co-founder of the Association of MultiEthnic Americans, told the *San Francisco Chronicle* that she is "humbled that we are finally on the map." She said "we are blending, and we are mixing. We haven't wanted to recognize that in the past for some reason, but it's happening." The reasons "we haven't wanted to recognize that" involve the politics of ethnic and cultural identity. But, as historian Kevin Starr recently pointed out, California's diverse demographics will "reinforce this growing condition of bipolar, or even tripolar, identities." Starr argues that the Millennial Generation, especially in California, "is experiencing an unprecedented experiment in world culture."[61] Perhaps the most closely related experiment in world culture occurred in California's Mexican and gold-rush periods, when bipolar identities thrived into the early twentieth century, before they disappeared under a patrilineal naming system and the passing of generations.[62] Today, the children of interethnic unions begin to reappear and find acknowledgement in the stories we tell ourselves about who we are.



This painting commemorates the formal American takeover of California from Mexico, which began in Monterey on July 7, 1846. When the war ended in 1848, the United States had gained one-third of Mexico's territory. The impact on Californio society was profound. *California Historical Society, Melville Switzer Memorial Collection, FN-32461.*

In conclusion, the evidence here demonstrates that in the California elites' "harmonious," multicultural pre-conquest society, class and gender distinctions between Californios and foreigners were of far greater significance than their ethnic differences. Propertied Californians and the "respectable" foreigners who settled among them before the conquest believed and behaved as though they had more in common with each other than with lower-class people of their own nationalities. Historians can certainly debate whether that perception was valid, but that perception shaped their behavior more than their sense of ethnic identity. CHS

See notes beginning on page 72.

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Larger than Texas

Proposals to Combine California and Mormon Deseret as One State

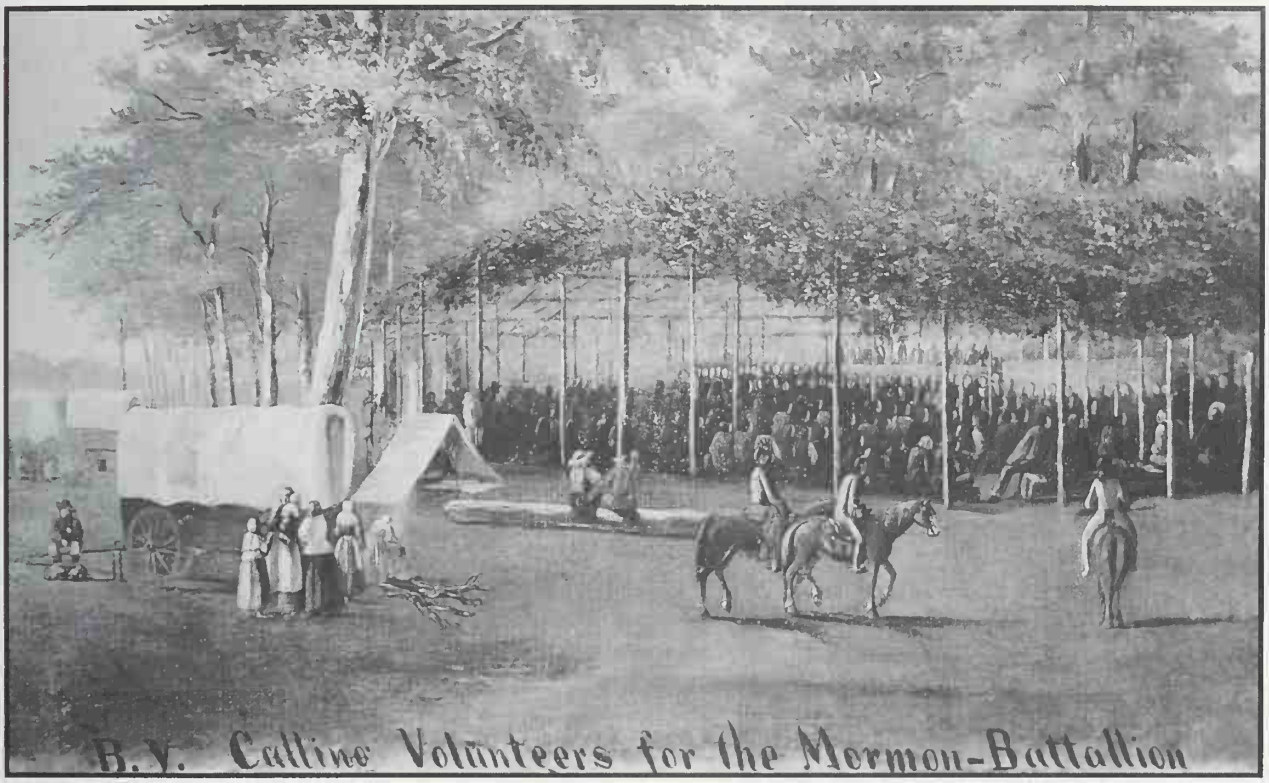
By Edward Leo Lyman

Many who are familiar with the history of the far western United States know of the seemingly grandiose attempt of Brigham Young and his Mormon associates in the mid-nineteenth century to secure political dominion over their "promised land," a vast domain they would propose as the State of Deseret. But few are aware that a number of agents of the federal government—most notably President Zachary Taylor—encouraged Mormon leaders to seek political independence for their people through linking their isolated Great Basin colonies to southern California. Although several biographers of President Taylor, historians of the sectional conflicts surrounding the Compromise of 1850, and early Utah and California histories have mentioned the amazing proposal by the president that California and Deseret be so joined as one giant state,[1] the subject has not been analyzed carefully by any modern historians. That is the stimulus for this study.

Upon reaching the California coast after their monumental overland trek from Fort Leavenworth to assist with securing that region for the United States during the Mexican War, the non-Mormon commander of the so-called Mormon Battalion, Lt. Col. Phillip St. George Cooke, praised the feat, saying "history may be searched in vain for an equal march of infantry." In southern California just after the war ended, the battalion companies were assigned to garrison duty at San Diego, San Luis Rey, and Los Angeles, where they constructed a substantial fort named for Capt. Benjamin D. Moore, killed at San Pasqual, the major California battle of the recent war.

The Mormon soldiers had a particularly marked impact on San Diego. Despite standoffishness among the local Latino population at the outset, the image of Latter-day Saint soldiers quickly changed. The town consisted of perhaps four general stores and as many grocery establishments situated "in Spanish style" on a square near the remnants of the first Roman Catholic mission in Alta California. Not required to carry out as many military duties as their counterparts in Los Angeles, the soldiers provided much civil service for San Diego citizens. One of their most significant contributions was the digging of some of the first wells in the town, along with brick manufacture and construction of several brick buildings, including a school. Other battalion men served as military policemen. Samuel Miles first assisted the San Diego alcalde administering American law and reports, then Lt. Robert Clift, who later became the first sheriff of San Bernardino County, was installed as alcalde. As the terms of Mormons' enlistment drew to a close, local citizens, led by the prominent Sra. Refugia Bandini, pleaded for some of the men to reenlist and remain in their community.[2]

San Diegans were not the only ones desirous of maintaining the stabilizing military presence of the Mormon Battalion men. Col. Richard B. Mason, who became military governor of California in the early summer of 1847, was sympathetic to the Californios and also apprehensive about the shortage of soldiers remaining on duty in the newly conquered region. Without assistance from the United States government, he attempted to prepare the former Mexican citizens for the new laws and system



Brigham Young Calling Volunteers for the Mormon Battalion, by Carl C. A. Christiansen (1832–1912), oil on canvas, ca. 1890. Mormon pioneer artist Christiansen, active between 1880–1905, painted in a forthright, narrative style. This work, an artistic interpretation of what might have been the scene in 1846 when Young, then the Mormon leader, rallied some five hundred young, mostly single men, at Council Bluffs, Iowa, by order of President Polk, to enlist as soldiers in the U.S. conflict against Mexico. Many of this early group of Mormons remained in California after the conquest. *Copyright by Intellectual Reserve, Inc. Courtesy of Museum of Church History and Art. Used by permission.*

ne anticipated Congress would soon impose. The governor was especially worried about Indians attacking settlers. He believed former mission Indians from the region might ally with more distant and less peaceable Native Americans and perhaps provide them crucial information about the vulnerability of the small southland settlements. Mason's predecessor, Gen. Stephen W. Kearny, had appointed northern Californians John Sutter and Mariano Vallejo as subagents for Indian affairs, and likewise, Governor Mason selected Mormon Battalion Capt. Jesse D. Hunter as the sole agent in southern California. Hunter was given orders to gather whatever Native Americans he could in the Temecula area, north of San Diego and some twenty miles from the nearest town. Yet those involved understood that if the Indians became defiant it would be difficult, if not impossible, to control them. During the war, Col. Jonathan D. Stevenson had commanded a regiment of New York volunteers and was credited with helping maintain good order in southern California until his men were released from the service in the fall of 1848. During that period, another of the most worrisome problems was reports that three former Californio military and political leaders, José Castro, Pío Pico, and José María Flores, were returning to southern California from Mexico, presumably to foment insurrection against the enemy occupiers.[3]

Before Kearny appointed Mason the first military governor of California, he met with the ranking Mormon Battalion officer, Capt. Jefferson Hunt, who would deliver his messages to Brigham Young. The church leader was just then on the plains of Nebraska and Wyoming leading the first Latter-day Saint emigrant companies toward the place that would eventually be called Utah. Hunt informed Young that



Richard B. Mason was appointed military governor of occupied Alta California in 1847. The colonel viewed the Mormon soldiers as the best means of securing California against other forces, making the church lavish offers of power and control should it agree to keeping the volunteers in southern California. *From Neal Harlow,* California Conquered: War and Peace on the Pacific, 1846–1850 *(1989). Copyright 1982 The Regents of the University of California.*

Kearny was favorable to the Mormon Battalion and appreciated their assistance in securing California. He also expressed Kearny's hope that at least the younger Mormon soldiers, the men without families, would remain in the army for another term of enlistment. Hunt confessed that he and his fellow Mormon leaders were "in perfect suspense," facing imminent discharge and not having received any direction from the church hierarchy as to what their future course should be. He reported that Isaac Williams had offered his Chino Rancho for sale to the Mormons; Hunt, with his fellow Mormon officers Hunter and Clift, was clearly anxious for church leaders to approve these overtures. He argued optimistically that the land was "sufficient to support 50,000 families," at least, if "the excellent country" in the same vicinity were also obtained.[4]

Meanwhile, the situation in southern California, as Governor Mason perceived it, had become even more precarious. In December, a large, well-armed caravan of New Mexican traders arrived at the mouth of Cajon Pass, asserting they were now American citizens and demanding permission to enter the southland settlements. Mason dispatched his ranking southern California adjutant, Colonel Stevenson, to inspect the party, with orders to arrest anyone appearing to be defiant or troublesome. There were no untoward incidents, however. Mason was equally concerned about the reappearance of Castro and Pico, although when they did return, neither caused any trouble. The governor's dilemma remained that he was chief in a land where "forts were without soldiers," and as Neal Harlow, the best historian of the period, has described the essence of his complaint, he had "ordinance without guards, towns without men, a territory without laws or legislature, a colony deficient in communication with the home government, his lot was not an easy one."

After the Gold Rush commenced, even more of the army volunteers deserted. Navy captains on the California coast often chose not to put into port for fear of losing their crews as well. These circumstances led Governor Mason to complain pessimistically that even if all the women of the province were threatened with ravishment, the men killed, and their homes burned, he "couldn't get a dozen men to leave the gold district to go to their aid." No wonder Mason and others interested in preserving the California social order exerted such fervent efforts to entice a group of Mormons, who had generally demonstrated an almost incredible disdain for the enticements of gold, to not only return for military occupation duty, but to settle permanently in the California southland.[5]

In August 1847, before Capt. Jefferson Hunt embarked for Utah, Governor Mason again urged him to recruit another Mormon Battalion for duty in southern California. Mason was later perplexed to learn that Hunt had declined to do so, reportedly because "the terms proposed . . . were not sufficiently liberal." Hunt had expressed some disappointment that his discharged soldiers had been given only their firearms, when they expected to keep all of their equipment, and they had not been paid for the trip home as he understood soldiers returning east had been. He may have also assumed the governor, in



ormon leader Brigham Young (1801–1877). Shown here ca. 1850, the Ver- ont-born Young headed the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints m 1844 to 1877, and founded Utah, serving as its first territorial gov- nor. *Courtesy of the author.*

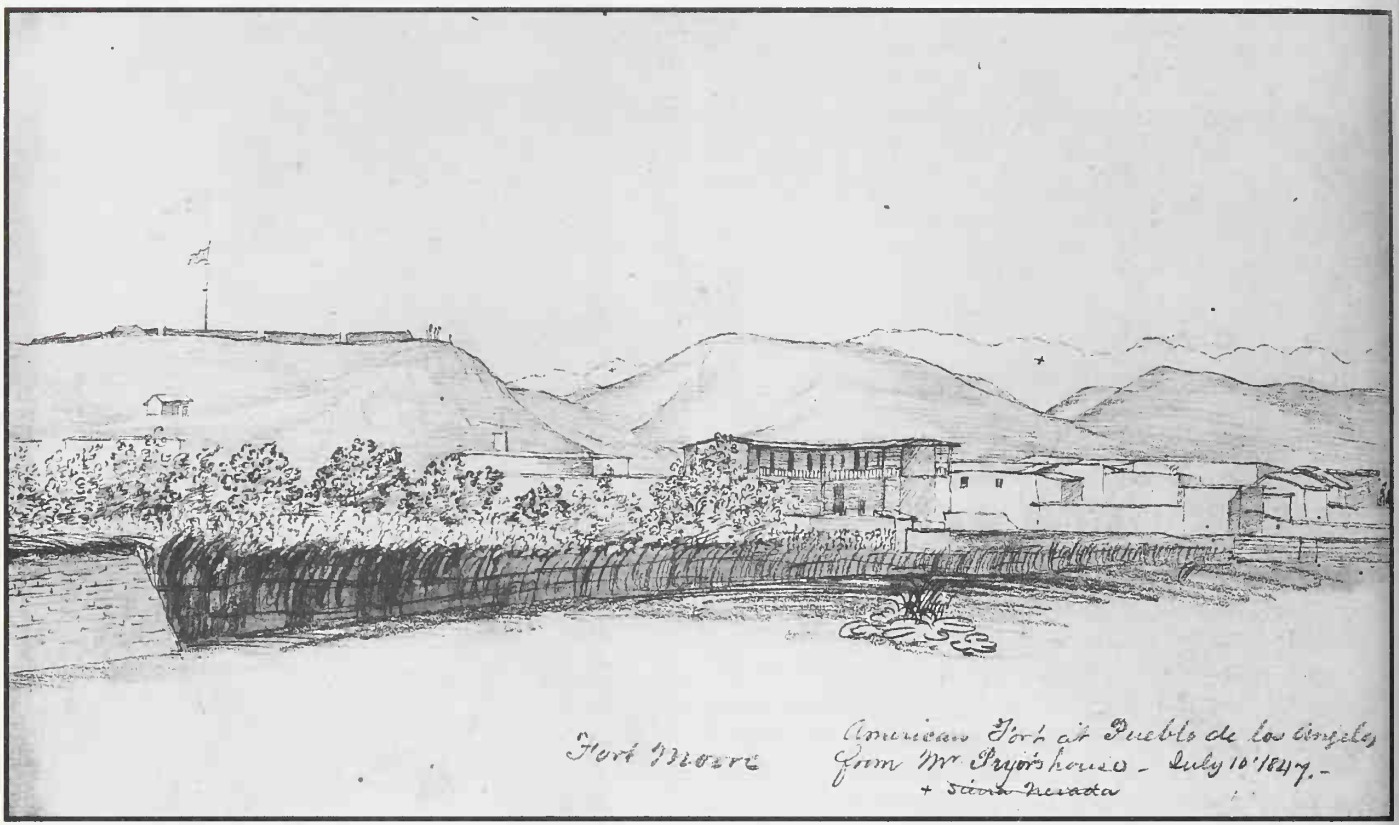
s political if not in his military capacity, could have fered more in terms of political hegemony to the atter-day Saints in southern California. More likely, owever, Hunt correctly perceived Brigham Young's ck of interest at that juncture in a southern Cali- rnia colony, however attractive it might appear. In letter from Young that may not have reached Hunt ntil he arrived in Utah, the church leader firmly eclared "here [at Great Salt Lake City] will be our eadquarters for the present, and dwelling place."[6]

Fearing the complete loss of his dwindling regi- nent of New York volunteers, in early 1848 Colonel tevenson continued to urge Hunt to raise a battal- on of Mormon soldiers for service in southern Cal- fornia. Stevenson informed Brigham Young that the erms of enlistment would be "more liberal than any eretofore allowed any volunteers." The army offi- er confessed that, when his own soldiers were dis- harged, it would leave the California southland 'defenseless for some time" unless he could recruit ocal citizens to serve, which he deemed "impracti- cable in the existing state of its population," or unless he could prevail on the Mormon leader to comply with his urgent request for assistance. After reciting his understanding of the persecution and injustice the Latter-day Saints had endured in Mis- souri and Illinois, Stevenson affirmed that southern California would be an excellent place for the church members to live according to the dictates of their own consciences.

He offered Young what for a less strong-minded leader would have been excellent advice, that per- secution and prejudice often arose out of ignorance toward people who "shut themselves out from any association with the world." He cited as evidence the ill feeling toward the Mormon Battalion when they first arrived in California, then asserted that their good service and general exemplary behavior had elicited almost universal high regard for members of that military unit. Stevenson reported having occasion, just as the original Mormon Battalion was disbanding, to travel throughout southern California, where he "everywhere found a strong feeling of respect entertained for [the Mormons] among the native and foreign population of the country."

The colonel also asserted that the advantages of soil, water, and particularly good markets for agricultural production were infinitely better in southern California than could be found anywhere in the Great Basin region. He noted that, if the Mormon soldiers could be returned to military service, they would not only maintain the "permanent tranquility" of the area but could also establish a Latter-day Saint colony near the seacoast, potentially useful as an entry point to Brigham Young's burgeoning empire. Stevenson concluded significantly that these actions would "secure the usefulness of your people to this [southern California] section of country," giving them the prominent position of early defenders that would assure their permanent esteemed position in the region.[7]

Even more persuasive than the U.S. Army colonel was long-time Anglo-American resident Isaac



Drawn by illustrator William Rich Hutton in 1847, the earthen Fort Moore, above the pueblo of Los Angeles—named to honor Capt. Benjamin D. Moore, a casualty of the U.S.-Mexican War—was completed by members of the Mormon Battalion. "On July 4, 1847, everyone who was able climbed the hill to watch the American flag being raised over the completed fort," noted W.W. Robinson in Los Angeles, *From the Days of the Pueblo* (1981). In the foreground stands Colonel Mason's temporary Los Angeles residence. Today a wall, dedicated in 1958, commemorates Fort Moore. Longtime headquarters of LAUSD (Los Angeles Unified School District) atop the hill were slated to be razed this year and replaced with a new high school. Young Hutton, who came to California with his uncle and the 1st Regiment of New York Volunteers, sojourned in California between 1847 and 1853 as a land surveyor and mapmaker, for a time as an assistant to Lt. Edward Ord. Hutton created a total of ninety-five California sketches, which remain a vital visual record of early regional and state history. *Courtesy Huntington Library, San Marino, Calif.*

Williams. Not only had he offered to sell the Mormons his Rancho del Chino with sufficient livestock attached to pay for the property—if the beef on the hoof could be sold in the gold-rush country at prevailing prices—but he also wrote to Brigham Young with the observation that much of southern California was open to the Mormons to develop and maintain dominion over, should they avail themselves of the opportunity. Williams assured Young that Latter-day Saint soldiers would be well-received and they and their fellow-believers would "have a territory of about 700 miles [at the church leaders'] sole command." This domination, the ranch owner believed, would be at the behest of the California military governor "and the few people" then residing in the California southland. He concluded that all the Latter-day Saints had to do was to "manage as they have done in the past" and they would secure a hospitable home for as many permanent settlers as the church hierarchy desired to send to that region.

The most encouraging of all solicitations from southern California at this juncture came from Indian agent Jesse D. Hunter, a former Mormon Battalion captain, which he too addressed to Mormon President Brigham Young. After reiterating that Governor Mason was "very anxious" that the Mormons raise another battalion of soldiers to secure southern California, Hunter repeated that there were equally fervent wishes that church members establish permanent homes in the area. Hunter reported meaningfully that Mason said the Mormons "should

ave the privilege of garrisoning all upper Califor-a [which technically included the Great Basin ea] and would be in a short time the only [mili-ry] forces left in the country." The former military fficer agreed that with the possible exception of a w people in the San Francisco Bay area, "there vas] not a man, woman or child, but would rejoice t the very idea of [the Mormons] settling this coun-y [of southern California]."

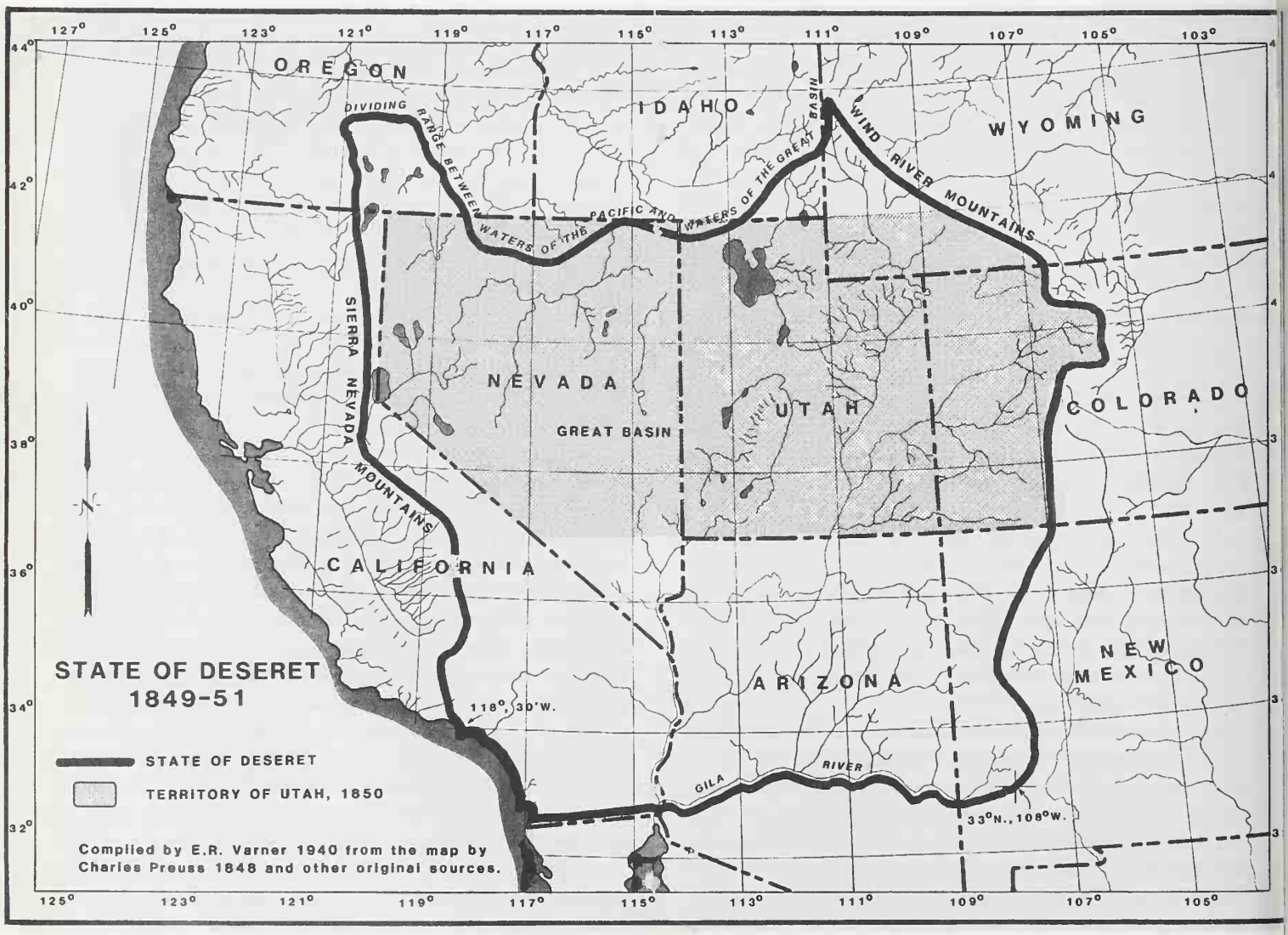
Hunter clearly realized that he could not dis-uade Brigham Young from his choice of the Great alt Lake Valley area as the center of his new Zion, ut he asserted "I am well aware that we will have o have a trading point on the coast," anticipating trong church interest particularly in San Diego as future seaport for the Mormon empire. Then Hunter, one of Governor Mason's closest southland gents and associates, revealed that "from all I can earn the governor is willing that we should have he entire control of this country," meaning south-rn California. There is little reason to doubt that in is desperation to populate the region with loyal and patriotic Americans, Governor Mason was indeed making such lavish overtures. Young's disinclination o follow through on this opportunity, however, along with the huge influx of population incident to he Gold Rush and Governor Mason's imminent replacement by another American Army officer, Gen. Bennet Riley, quickly and drastically altered the situation.[8]

During the winter of 1846, before the great Mormon exodus from Nauvoo, Illinois, church leaders had clearly considered the probability of extending their future settlements to the California coast. Apostle Parley P. Pratt had written in September 1845, that "I expect we shall stop near the Rocky Mountains about 800 miles nearer [the United States] than the coast . . . and there make a stand until we are able to enlarge and extend on to the coast." There, indeed, they would establish what would become Deseret, a vast territory extending from Colorado to California. In September 1845, before Samuel Brannan led the first company of Latter-day Saints around Cape Horn on the ship *Brooklyn* to Yerba Buena, essentially doubling the population of the town destined to be renamed San Francisco, President Young confided to Brannan the wish that he were already in the California area with the newspaper he intended to start, and with ten thousand Mormon brethren, presumably to dominate there. According to the diary of another apostle, John Taylor, Young asserted on the first of July 1846, "whereas if we go and help take the country [i.e., take Alta California from Mexico] we will at least have an equal right. I don't want anybody to be in those wildernesses and undiscovered territories before we are." Taylor's diary continued that "if the Latter-day Saints brought 30,000 inhabitants to California they would not only be the old citizens"—at least among the Anglo-Americans—but they would also "have a lot of land allotted to [them]." Then, too, they could later tell great stories of how they helped to win the country and establish liberty, thus strengthening their own claims and those of their children. Yet for reasons never fully explained, Mormon interest in securing an early foothold on the Pacific Coast waned just as the Latter-day Saints were placing sufficient numbers in California to accomplish what had appeared to be a major goal. Maybe Young and his associates recognized that establishing a haven in the Great Basin would demand all of their energies and resources for the immediate future. And perhaps the church leaders conceded from past sad experience the unlikelihood of living peacefully in California in the midst of non-believing "Gentiles."[9]

Whatever Brigham Young's motives for cooling the earlier Mormon interest in expanding California settlement, by the time the Gold Rush was well under way, Mormon leaders had switched to exerting their efforts to prevent the faithful from succumbing to the enticements of leaving Deseret and moving on to California. "We are gathered here not to scatter around and go off to the mines," Young and his counselors later stated, "but to build up the Kingdom of God" in the Great Basin. Still later, Young called his chosen location "a good place to make Saints, and it [was also] a good place for Saints to live; it [was] the place that the Lord has appointed and we shall stay [there] until He tells us to go somewhere else." As LDS historians Leonard Arrington and Davis Bitton have concluded, "like the Adam of Mormon theology, Young chose a world of struggle and growth over an easy but static Eden," which California was increasingly perceived to be. Certainly once the man revered and sustained as a prophet of God chose the one location over the

other, the debate as to where the Latter-day Saints would reside was essentially concluded.[10]

When the Mormons first arrived in what became Utah, government was naturally seated in ecclesiastical officials, first the Salt Lake stake (diocese) presidency and then the semi-secret Council of Fifty, which had functioned in a similar manner behind the scenes at Nauvoo. In 1848, after the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo had transferred the entire Pacific and Southwest region to the United States from Mexico, the Council of Fifty took the initiative to formalize their government. After deliberation primarily among high church leaders within the council, a concept for the State of Deseret— a word meaning "honey bee" in the Book of Mormon—was supposedly presented at a constitutional convention

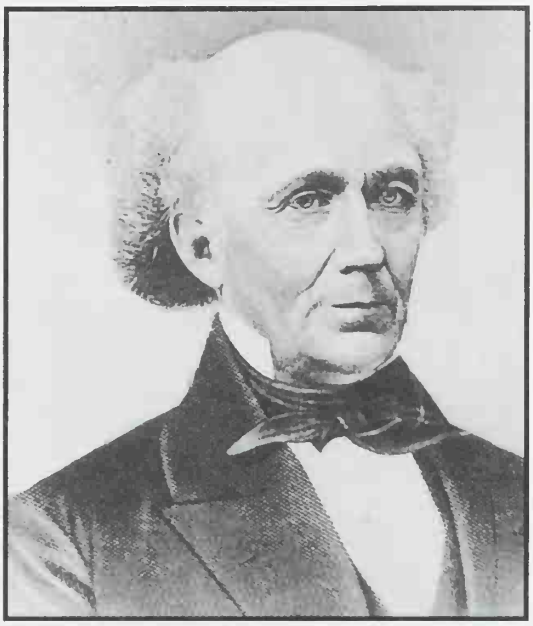


This map of the proposed state of Deseret, delineated in bold lines, was composed by E. R. Varner under the direction of Dale Lowell Morgan (1914–1971), distinguished historian of Mormonism and the western U.S. It appeared first in his 1940 study, "The State of Deseret," in the *Utah Historical Quarterly. Published by permission of* Utah State Historical Quarterly.

assembled on March 5, 1849. Three days later, the body was said to have adopted a certain document describing Deseret, which except for the size of the proposed state was fairly typical of those used by contemporary states.[11] Although the constitution specified a May election, officers for the proposed state were actually chosen at the time of the convention—by the Council of Fifty— exemplifying an image the Latter-day Saints would continue to display: ecclesiastical domination of political affairs, with little democracy. While Mormons attempted to conform to the outward symbols of American political tradition, the actual power and decision-making always emanated from the few in the church hierarchy, fully supported by their followers. Predictably, the chosen state officers were Brigham Young as governor; his first counselor, Heber C. Kimball, as chief justice; and other high church officials also in the other key positions.

The most notable feature of the as-yet-extralegal State of Deseret was the massive size of the area Mormon leaders attempted to bring under their jurisdiction. Their proposed state boundaries extended from the Rocky Mountains of Colorado to the Sierra Nevada of California and from the upper Rio Grande River of New Mexico and the Gila River of later Arizona to what became approximately the northern boundaries of Utah and Nevada, including small corners of future Oregon and Wyoming. Southern California, including San Diego and Los Angeles, were also within the proposed state. Even without the heated controversy then raging in Congress over expanding slavery into the territory taken from Mexico, this "geographically exorbitant" proposal alone was sufficient to assure that the Mormons' unrealistic attempt at statehood would be stillborn.[12]

Leaving Utah in early May 1849, Dr. John M. Bernhisel carried to Washington, D.C., a petition signed by 2,270 men asking for "a territorial government of our own." By July, the new general assembly of the proposed territory selected Almon W. Babbitt to carry a petition for Deseret statehood to the nation's capital. Bernhisel had subsequently been persuaded by a fellow Pennsylvanian, Col. Thomas L. Kane, an influential friend of the Mormons, that there was no hope for self-government through territorial status and that he too should direct his efforts toward immediate statehood.



Dr. John M. Bernhisel (1799–1881), Utah delegate to Congress. Bernhisel carried the Deseret statehood petition to Washington, D.C. *Courtesy of the author.*

Thus the missions of Bernhisel and Babbitt harmonized.

During his journey east to present the petition for territorial government, Dr. Bernhisel encountered Gen. John Wilson, who had just been appointed Indian agent of what they would call the Deseret-California region, just acquired from Mexico. Wilson, a long-time Whig from Missouri, had recently had some expectations of being appointed to new U.S. President Zachary Taylor's cabinet, and had been a guest of the president-elect at his home in Baton Rouge, Louisiana. The appointment as Indian agent was doubtless offered to help assuage disappointment after not receiving the Cabinet position to which he aspired. Wilson now offered to write letters of introduction on behalf of the Deseret delegate to Gov. John Young of New York and Sen. Truman Smith of Connecticut, although Bernhisel's correspondence with Brigham Young on this matter stopped short of calling Wilson a friend of the Mormons.[13]

Coincidentally, as Wilson continued along by wagon toward the Great Basin, he also met Almon Babbitt, who carried the requests now for actual Deseret statehood. Wilson thereafter wrote to Pres-



This 1846 lithograph of General Zachary Taylor astride his horse Old Whitey, executed by New York lithographer Thomas W. Strong, from a sketch by an artillery lieutenant, depicts the future U.S. president at the battle of Palo Alto during the Mexican War. His victory at Buena Vista ended the war, made him a national hero, and won him the presidential election of 1848. He died in 1850, having served for less than two years. *Courtesy Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis.*

ident Taylor's son-in-law and longtime chief aid, Col. W. W. Bliss, to report that Babbitt attempted to convey the impression that he (Babbitt) had "the confidence of the present [Taylor] administration," which Wilson privately questioned, perhaps because he knew Babbitt intended to work through the Democrats. Wilson was an avid hater of members of the opposing party, whom he ridiculed as "Locofocos," an old term for one New York faction. He expressed particular concern about the role an emerging leader of the rival party, Congressman Stephen A. Douglas, also an old acquaintance of the Latter-day Saints from Illinois, would play in the Mormon statehood movement. While expressing nothing negative about any member of the Latter-day Saint hierarchy, Wilson cited Apostle Orson Hyde and his associates centered at Kanesville (later renamed Council Bluffs, Iowa) as claiming that Babbitt was less than honest in many of his representations.[14]

Even before he became involved in the 1848 race for the presidency, Gen. Zachary Taylor, hero of the recent war with Mexico, predicted that the issue of slavery in the territories acquired through that war would be the "gravest the nation had ever faced." The question had been thrust upon Congress when Pennsylvania Democrat David Wilmot proposed that no territory acquired from Mexico should have legalized slavery. Although this proviso never became law, it enraged some southern politicians to the point that Taylor viewed the issue as a very serious one. As he later settled into the presidency, he concluded that the best solution to the problem was to circumvent the territorial phase—the only one over which Congress had much power—to encourage immediate statehood for both California and New Mexico. Since southerners could not object to actions taken by other states without violating their own sacred canons of states' rights, the problem might thus be peacefully resolved.

Upon entering office, Taylor dispatched former Georgia congressman Thomas Butler King to California with messages to federal officials strongly urging citizens to initiate a statehood effort. Although he did not so state, it was then common knowledge that a territory reaching a population of 60,000 was qualified to seek admission as a state, and California had quickly bypassed that. The president was

careful not to appear to interfere in the process, but when his sentiments became known, a movement for a constitutional convention quickly materialized. Historian Holman Hamilton noted the irony of two slave owners, Taylor and King, seeking to shepherd California into the union as a free state.[15] But both firmly believed it to be the best way to avoid the bitter debates if the area were to remain under the jurisdiction of Congress. Although this process resulted in California statehood through the Compromise of 1850, in the meantime the president engaged in a separate attempt to attach the Mormon empire of Deseret to the Golden State's admission effort.

A crucial conference between John Wilson and Latter-day Saint top leadership took place a week after Wilson's arrival in Great Salt Lake Valley. He assured the group that President Taylor was "friendly disposed" toward the Mormons and that he had been commissioned to inform them that the president "fully appreciated [their] situation," probably a reference to their desire for an optimum degree of self-government. This, Wilson explained, fit well with the plan Taylor and his cabinet favored to alleviate potential controversy over slavery in the territories, which might disrupt all other governmental business. While apparently intending an entirely separate state of New Mexico, Wilson disclosed that to prevent the anticipated disruption, "they [he and the president] have proposed a plan of making the whole territory [of Deseret and California] into one state, leaving it in the power of the people to say whether it shall be a slave or a free state," thereby removing the bone of contention from congressional debate. It was further explained that while the Taylor administration sympathized with the Mormons' wish for their own state, there was not sufficient population to accomplish that.

Brigham Young disclosed to his chief agent in California, Apostle Amasa M. Lyman, that President Taylor, Wilson, and other slaveholders agreed with this approach to the problem and were "willing to make a sacrifice for the public good," even if it meant going against the interests of their southern allies. He acknowledged the belief among the Taylor circle that the South would go along with the movement if the "strong southern influence on the Pacific coast," potentially embarrassing or even worse, could be overcome. That, Young understood, was the primary reason the Mormons were being invited into the statehood attempt. Young explained the hope "that by our influence we should be enabled to counterbalance that of the slaveholders" and their sympathizers then in California.[16] The church leader also confessed that when the proposal was first broached, he and his counselors "rejected altogether the idea of any amalgamation whatever with the government on the coast." This was probably because of undue confidence that their separate efforts for admission as the State of Deseret had realistic prospects. Young acknowledged that the small population was a serious obstacle to Deseret's separate admission, though, he affirmed, they intended to continue pressing for their own state. The Zachary Taylor-John Wilson initiative became a back-up scheme, in case the initial statehood effort should falter.

From its inception, the Taylor-Wilson statehood initiative proposed only a temporary union. The two distinct areas were to be bound by a common constitution and name, but there was to be a specific stipulation for dissolution in 1851. Brigham Young discounted the weight given to the vastly superior population of California, arguing that most people were only temporary gold seekers and that the lack of families proved their transience. On the other hand, he estimated Mormondom's population at fifteen thousand and predicted that it would grow to over seventy-five thousand by the beginning of the year of division, 1851—more than requisite for separate statehood. The Great Salt Lake area population increase was indeed large, but the economic base to support it did not yet fully exist. Young was overly optimistic. Still, the church leader disclosed expectation that before his domain could be permanently consolidated with the Pacific Coast province, "1851 will arrive and the yoke [of the unified state] will be broken. Thus while [the] government is using us to save the nation, we are using them to save ourselves." Young emphatically cautioned Lyman that "there must be no doubt of our being a [separate] state at the commencement of '51, without any further action of congress."[17]

President Young erroneously assumed that California Mormons had secured preliminary agreements with leaders of the upcoming constitutional convention before it convened. He designated



Amasa M. Lyman, shown in an egraving by Frederick Piercy, was a key agent for the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in California. He may have been in the San Francisco Bay area during the state's first constitutional convention, but he was not authorized to act on behalf of the people of Deseret. *Copyright by Intellectual Reserve, Inc. Courtesy of Museum of Church History and Art. Used by permission.*



John Wilson, above, Missouri Whig politician, was appointed Indian agent of the Deseret-California region by President Zachary Taylor. Later Taylor sent him as emissary to the Mormon leaders with the president's proposal for the combined California-Deseret state. *Courtesy The Bancroft Library.*

Lyman, Wilson, and J. W. Pickett, a former Mormon attorney who had moved to San Francisco, to choose Deseret's delegates to the California constitutional convention, which, unbeknownst to them, was already meeting. The church leader cautioned Lyman against allowing the Californians to relegate the Mormons to an inferior position because of their relative population, stating figuratively that "no man in all our councils will consent for a moment to wear a broken yoke." If such a negative contingency arose, they were to break off participation with the effort and send petitions to the Mormon representatives to Congress against being included in the massive statehood attempt. The delegates were also reminded to utilize Samuel Brannan's *California Star*, the first newspaper in the region, as a means of generating favorable public sentiment.

While there is no evidence that Zachary Taylor and his advisors acceded to Mormon wishes that some of the southern California coastal area be included in their state, Brigham Young was not prevented from pressing that intent. He advised Amasa Lyman to ascertain if the people of Los Angeles and San Diego remained "as favorable" to the Mormon presence in their midst as had been the case earlier. The church leader affirmed that if the same sentiment yet prevailed, Lyman would "find no difficulty in securing our proposed boundary." Young encouraged Lyman to exert "a religious influence over the people and government" of California in order to gain as much influence in the region as possible. He then disclosed "we expect to inhabit that country [at least southern California] as well as this [the Great Basin] and want our share of good in common with the great whole."[18]

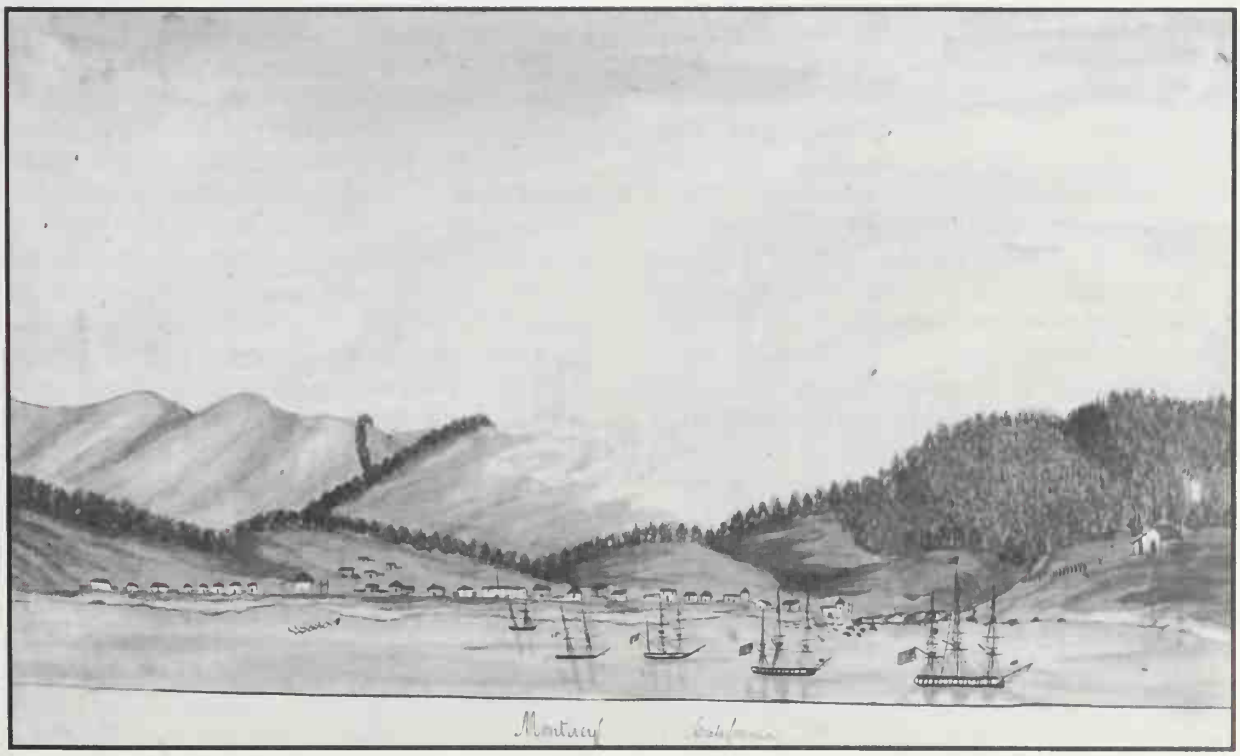
Sixty-year-old Wilson, traveling with his wife and family under military escort, had great difficulty making the journey from Salt Lake City to San Francisco. He continually disagreed with the party's leader, Bvt. Capt. R. M. Morris, an inexperienced officer. The group was caught in a storm in the Sierra; Wilson was compelled to leave his law books and some other baggage behind. The San Francisco *Alta California* announced Wilson's arrival and his quar-

rels with Capt. Morris in an uncomplimentary manner. Notice of these difficulties would not have aided the Deseret delegation's purposes, but this was irrelevant. Late timing had already thwarted their efforts.[19]

Meanwhile, when Gov. Bennet Riley learned that Congress had adjourned without providing so much as territorial organization for California (on June 3, 1849), he issued a call for a constitutional convention to meet at Monterey in September. While he had no authority for such action, he understood this to be in keeping with President Taylor's wishes. Of the forty-eight delegates to be elected, only eleven would come from the southern counties of the proposed state. Neither John Wilson or any other Mormon representatives were present.

When proceedings commenced, Antonio Carrillo stated that he and his southern colleagues were instructed by southland citizens to oppose state government unless the convention conceded a north-south state division near San Luis Obispo. He proposed that the area north of that line be California, while the southern region remain a separate territory. Stephen C. Foster of Los Angeles countered that he did not believe the majority of southern Californians desired the separation. The proposal did not thereafter receive serious consideration. Surprisingly, the hottest national question of the era, slavery, was hardly an issue at the convention, as the delegates overwhelmingly determined to exclude the "peculiar institution" from the state.[20]

The question that stimulated the convention's greatest debate was location of the eastern boundary of California. Some believed the state should embrace all that had been Alta California under Mexican rule, which would include present Utah. Others argued that only those areas represented at the convention should be included within California's boundaries. A considerable number of delegates



Monterey, California, shown here in 1846, in a watercolor by William H. Meyers. Colton Hall, in Monterey, was the site of the first constitutional convention for the future state of California, which met during September and October 1849. *Courtesy The Bancroft Library.*

changed their minds repeatedly on this issue, and the proceedings came close to breaking up over the matter.[21] The decisive argument by the committee on boundaries was that if the people of Mormondom wished their area to be included, they would have sent delegates. Their religious peculiarities and the fact that they had chosen such a remote western location for their main settlement appeared to justify their exclusion—or warrant the conclusion that they did not desire to be included. Furthermore, the Mormons had initiated separate statehood overtures of their own. Yet, if the Latter-day Saint delegates had attended the convention and indicated their desire to be included, it is likely that a proposal for a larger California might have been adopted.[22]

A month after the convention adjourned in mid-October, the first state officials were elected. Peter H. Burnett, formerly of Missouri, and a key leader in the movement calling for the constitutional convention, was chosen as first governor of the state. The new legislature convened at the first state capital in San Jose on December 15, 1849.[23] As yet, of course, the "state" of California had no legal status.

Early in January 1850, while the legislature continued its important inaugural duties, Gen. John Wilson and Apostle Amasa M. Lyman presented an unusual proposition through Governor Burnett. They explained that although there had been a separate movement for a state to be called Deseret, the Mormon citizens of "East California" had agreed to send delegates to "any convention that might be held in California with instructions to have the Salt Lake region included for the time being in any state that might be formed on the west side of the Sierra Nevada." The delegates' petition explained that they had not been able to reach the Pacific Coast until after the constitutional convention had concluded its work and adjourned. They then requested the governor to direct the California legislature to call for a new convention for the purpose of forming one state from "all the territory acquired from Mexico." The Mormon petition further urged that the result of this movement would be the "final settlement of the vexed question of slavery in the territories." While the Mormons had not specifically excluded slavery in their constitution for Deseret, the delegates were certain that the people they represented were anti-slavery, and they considered themselves instructed to act accordingly.[24]

Wilson and Lyman fully disclosed the territorial arrangements they had been authorized to urge upon the convention. They conceded that the Deseret constitution "included all the territory east and south of the Sierra Nevada," stating that the rugged range made an obvious, "natural boundary dividing West California from East California." They conceded that the western section had the superior "right of access to the Pacific Ocean" and with the good harbors California possessed along the extensive northern coastline, the legislature could hardly complain about the neighboring state having some in the southern region. It was frankly stated that "a boundary line should be agreed on to ultimately separate California and Deseret when the latter should have acquired population enough to entitle it to admission into the union as a state by itself."

Governor Burnett had once provided legal representation for Joseph Smith and several other church leaders in Liberty, Missouri. He had been partly successful in a contentious situation, amid threats to his own safety as well as his clients. Although he fully aired Mormon arguments for another convention, he recommended that the legislature reject the request. Although the petition was dated January 8, the governor did not forward it to the legislature until February 4, 1850, late in the session. At that time Burnett included a long communication offering reasons why the propositions and requests should not be complied with. He explained that the two communities were "too far apart" in their views, in a manner not unlike Texas and Maine might be expected to demonstrate. That was all the legislators needed to persuade them against any positive action. The Assembly resolved not to entertain the petition, while the Senate ordered the entire matter "most respectfully laid on the table," where it remained with no hope of revival. An editorial in the *Alta California* referred to "the absurdity of the memorial presented . . . [which their] legislature have effectually and properly dealt with." The newspaper had earlier expressed sympathy for the separate Mormon movement for statehood, but considered the more recent request to be totally without merit, coming as it did from "the deluded Salt Lake people."[25]

Although Mormon historian Orson F. Whitney concluded that the movement for combined statehood failed because Californians did not seriously consider the propositions presented, the real causes are much more broadly based. If Zachary Taylor had been serious in his overtures, he should have dispatched an emissary to Deseret as soon as he sent T. B. King to California. General Wilson had not even arrived at Salt Lake City until the last days of August 1849, and did not confer with the Mormon leaders until the California constitutional convention was already in session. Wilson did not arrive in San Francisco with Brigham Young's instructions to Amasa Lyman until after the legislature had completed almost all that was essential for functioning state government—without including Deseret.

Having proceeded so far, it was impractical to expect Californians to halt that progress for the benefit of the Mormons. There was virtually nothing in the Deseret proposition that could be deemed as a benefit to the Golden State, and thus its leaders quite naturally rejected the entire matter. The California constitutional convention had been called in the summer to convene in September 1849. Notice of this could easily have been available in Salt Lake City so that church leaders could have participated in those proceedings. But there is no hint of such interest prior to the initiative of Zachary Taylor and John Wilson, which was too late. The plan had real merit for Mormondom, but church leaders would have had to act more decisively to see it accomplished.[26]

By the time of California's rejection of the Deseret proposal, President Taylor had also concluded that the Mormon-occupied portion of greater Alta California might be an impediment to California's admission as a free state. In his annual message to Congress on January 21, 1850, he expressed the opinion that "no material inconvenience" would arise if there was no government established by Congress over the portion of the region east of the newly-organized state of California." While the Mormon leaders must have been discouraged by the turn of events, they still had some cause for hope. Delegate Bernhisel wrote in mid-March that while it was generally conceded California would soon be admitted with its present boundaries, there was still some possibility those lines could be "contracted." But, on the other hand, he candidly confessed that the most sympathetic supporters the Mormons had in Congress, Senators Stephen A. Douglas and Truman Smith, were "not disposed to give the Mormons any territory on the [Pacific] coast."

Soon thereafter, Bernhisel was introduced by Senator Smith to President Taylor. The Deseret delegate described "Old Rough and Ready" as "rough enough, though he does not appear very ready; he is an exceedingly plain man in the fullest sense of the term," who, although a "strictly honest" man, appeared entirely out of his element as chief executive. Taylor informed Bernhisel he considered the Deseret matter entirely out of his hands. The delegate reported to Mormon leaders that the president had "been somewhat prejudiced against [them] by the slanderous reports in circulation." The main source of such reports was a letter to the president from William Smith, brother of the deceased founding prophet. The letter charged—not entirely inaccurately—that Brigham Young and his cohorts were seeking "to create a theocracy" in which the church would dominate the civil government.[27]

Bernhisel also reported that Stephen A. Douglas, the most important Democrat involved in resolving the issue of former Mexican lands in cooperation with Whig Senator Henry Clay, main sponsor of what would be called the Compromise of 1850, disliked not only the name Deseret—preferring Utah—but also the huge size of the proposed state. Claiming to be sympathetic toward the Mormons, whom he had known in Illinois, he argued that church members would have more "peace and quiet" if Utah's limits were drawn short of the Pacific Coast. He added that other people would move in, thereby creating the kind of conflict church members had so consistently experienced when in contact with unbelieving neighbors. His suggestion was for the region to develop as a friendly neighbor, so that a substantial trade with the Mormon empire might be likely to arise.

In subsequent days Bernhisel ascertained there was no chance for Deseret or the smaller Utah to be admitted as a state, although there was no particular opposition to territorial status for the latter. The delegate was hesitant to press for a territorial organization, understanding the "broken down politicians" so often appointed as officials by the federal government in such situations would likely veto the

plan. Bernhisel attempted to gain some recognition and government funds for the existing provisional government of Deseret, and although Douglas offered no encouragement, Truman Smith, who was said to be the closest legislator to President Taylor, promised to introduce legislation to that effect. He did not, however, perhaps because of the unexpected death of Zachary Taylor that July.[28]

Mormon leaders accepted all of these developments with both the stoicism and impatience that their experience with the federal government had conditioned them to expect, yet they still had one last hope for statehood that included a portion of the Pacific Coast. Apostle Charles C. Rich, who had replaced Amasa Lyman as head of church affairs in California, wrote in July 1850 that the "inhabitants in the south part of this state are more and more dissatisfied with the proceedings of the north part of the state." He continued that if California should not be admitted as a state, "the south will no doubt go against being attached to the north and will petition for a separate territory or [be] attached to Deseret." Hoping against California's imminent admission, Rich thus expressed belief that the earlier Zachary Taylor plan might yet come to pass.

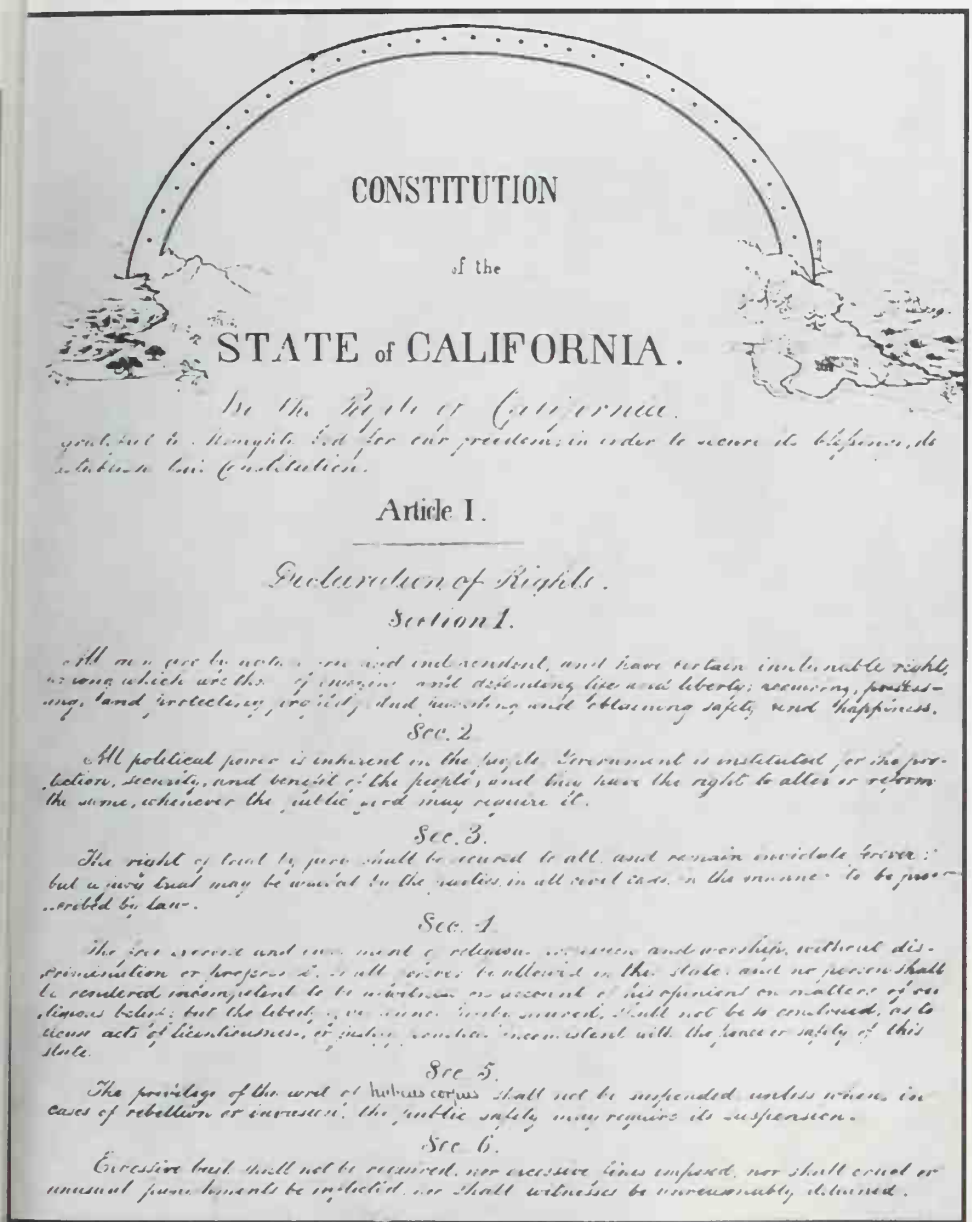
Although most scholarly treatment of the north-south division debate has focused on later attempts, southern California sentiment against amalgamation with the mining region was well founded. Not only had the southland's constitutional convention delegates apparently been instructed to seek separate territorial status, but subsequent events proved such sentiments to be justified. As early as 1852, the second governor of the state, John McDougal, admitted that the six "cow counties" of southern California, with a population of only six thousand people, had already paid $42,000 in property taxes, while the twelve mining counties with a population of at least one hundred-twenty thousand, had paid only half that much, because state laws exempted mining claims on United States lands from taxation. This kind of discrimination had been expected and was the basis of Charles C. Rich's reports that southern Californians might yet prefer to be part of the Mormon state.

However, all such dreams were dashed when in early September California was admitted as a free state, a major component of the Compromise of 1850,



Peter Burnett, the first elected governor of California, shown here in an early daguerreotype. Previously, a supporter of the Latter-day Saints, Burnett advised the California legislature not to reconvene for the sole purpose of considering the addition of Deseret-Utah to the state of California. *Courtesy The Bancroft Library.*

with the boundaries set as proposed by the constitutional convention. At the same time, Utah gained territorial status, with boundaries much smaller than the proposed state of Deseret. Again, the Mormons took this development in stride, grateful to have achieved as much as they had in the selection of territorial officials. Former vice president Millard Fillmore, who became president at Taylor's death, appointed Brigham Young as governor, which his predecessor clearly would not have done. Although Bernhisel apologized that all other appointees were not "from our number," the new president assured the delegate that he would appoint no man "not friendly disposed" to the Mormon people.[29] There was far less conflict with these first territorial officials than would be the case in most of the forty-five



CONSTITUTION

of the

STATE of CALIFORNIA.

We the People of California.

grateful to Almighty God for our freedom, in order to secure its blessings, do ordain this Constitution.

Article I.

Declaration of Rights.

Section 1.

All men are by nature free and independent, and have certain inalienable rights, among which are those of enjoying and defending life and liberty; acquiring, possessing, and protecting property; and pursuing and obtaining safety and happiness.

Sec. 2.

All political power is inherent in the people. Government is instituted for the protection, security, and benefit of the people; and they have the right to alter or reform the same, whenever the public good may require it.

Sec. 3.

The right of trial by jury shall be secured to all, and remain inviolate forever; but a jury trial may be waived by the parties in all civil cases, in the manner to be prescribed by law.

Sec. 4.

The free exercise and enjoyment of religious profession and worship, without discrimination or preference, shall forever be allowed in this State, and no person shall be rendered incompetent to be a witness or juror on account of his opinions on matters of religious belief; but the liberty of conscience hereby secured, shall not be so construed, as to excuse acts of licentiousness, or justify conduct inconsistent with the peace or safety of this State.

Sec. 5.

The privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion, the public safety may require its suspension.

Sec. 6.

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor shall cruel or unusual punishments be inflicted, nor shall witnesses be unreasonably detained.

This is a copy of the handwritten parchment version of the first California constitution signed by the delegates at Colton Hall, Monterey, on October 13, 1849. It is now housed in the collection of the California State Archives. *California Historical Society, FN–19207B.*

subsequent years of territorial status for Utah. Mormondom would struggle for statehood for nearly another half-century, including six more distinct attempts at admission before finally achieving it in 1896. But for poor timing in several instances, most notably overland delays preventing the attendance of Mormon delegates to the California constitutional convention of 1849, the initial attempt at statehood—at least in combination with the state of California—might well have been accomplished the first time around.

See notes beginning on page 74.

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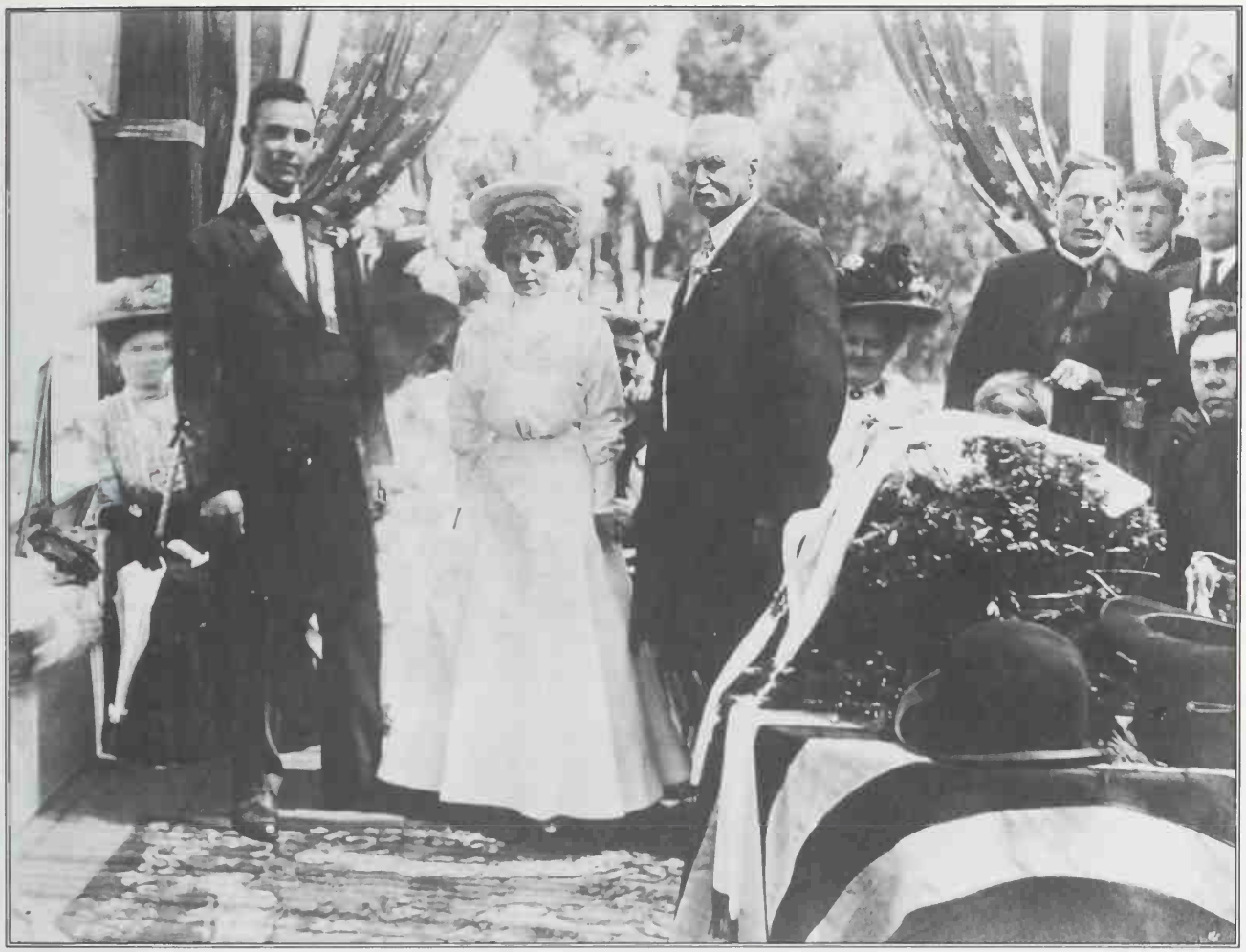
"To Have and To Hold"

The San Pedro Woman's Club and the Union of Two Cities, 1906–1909

by Anastasia J. Christman

"The people of San Pedro, by annexing to Los Angeles, would abandon all hope of ever building a city here," intoned Fanny Hogaboom of the San Pedro Woman's Club in 1906.[1] The larger city, twenty-four miles to the Northeast, proposed to absorb the smaller municipality in order to gain access to the latter's seaport. In exchange, it offered San Pedro improved public services, especially fire and police protection. This plan necessitated the support of voters in both cities for implementation, and enfranchised citizens in Los Angeles and San Pedro alike publicly debated the costs and benefits of the proposal for three full years. But neither Fanny Hogaboom nor her female audience were voters. By the time they were enfranchised in 1911 San Pedro was officially the harbor district of Los Angeles, the annexation issue having been settled for two full years. Despite their disenfranchisement, however, Hogaboom and the sixteen other women who organized the San Pedro Woman's Club had engaged in the annexation controversy, albeit for reasons distinct from those of their male counterparts.

When the vote finally took place in August of 1909, nearly three-fourths of the electorate favored the measure, and San Pedro relinquished its independence to the larger metropolis. A publicity photograph from 1909 recorded the "marriage" of San Pedro and Los Angeles, represented respectively by a comely young woman and a confident young man. Citizens hoped that as a result of this union the groom's brash character and great resources would allow the bride to gracefully mature and grow into a handsome and staid matron. In the years since the merger, residents of San Pedro and their chroniclers have presented the consolidation story as largely inevitable, if ultimately regrettable. They view this municipal merger as an arranged and coerced marriage that thwarted the aspirations and hopes of the small young city on the coast. The city of Los Angeles, so the narrative goes, needed both the revenue offered by the harbor and the increased tax base to finance its grand plan to import water to the thirsty city. San Pedro was "over the proverbial barrel—this time a water barrel!" according to one account.[2] Others conclude that male property-owners and businessmen of San Pedro came to recognize the fiscal advantages of consolidation and abandoned civic pride in favor of profits.[3] These historical accounts privilege the interests of San Pedro's male citizenry by focusing on generally masculine concerns about commercial growth. Although motivated by other interests, Hogaboom and her female allies were not entirely unaware of business needs. Indeed, Hogaboom theorized that Los Angeles sought annexation of San Pedro because the larger city saw "some danger to itself and some chance of the retarding of its own growth in the growth of San Pedro as a commercial point."[4] The primary goal of the women's organization was not commercial development but community building, and including their role in the history of the annexation debate



After three years of debate on both sides, San Pedro was annexed to the larger metropolis of Los Angeles in August 1909. In this photograph, the union of the two cities is represented symbolically. In the center of the picture, the "bride" stands for San Pedro, and the "groom," Los Angeles, is the man to her right. The San Pedro Women's Club pushed for the annexation to gain access to Los Angeles's regulatory policies on alcohol and prostitution. In recent years there has been a strong movement among residents of San Pedro toward breaking away from Los Angeles to restore independent status to the harbor town once again. *Courtesy San Pedro Bay Historical Society.*

sheds light on alternative explanations for the eventual support for municipal consolidation in 1909.

The implication in Hogaboom's warning, that San Pedro could not yet truly be considered "a city," was an astute one. Always centered on its port, and with accelerated commercial activity since the railroad connection to Los Angeles had opened in 1868, San Pedro had incorporated in 1888 as an independent city. Even so, by 1906 it was still a transitional place. People and goods moved through the town en route to somewhere else: ships arrived from various homeports to unload passengers or merchandise which was then speedily transported to Los Angeles.[5] Despite San Pedro's 1890 victory over Santa Monica in winning federal funding for harbor improvements, the city did not take part in the explosive boom of late-nineteenth and early twentieth century southern California.[6] True, the community's population increased by more than 40 percent between 1890 and 1900, but Los Angeles boasted more than 100 percent growth during the same period. And despite the ever-burgeoning number of tourists to the region, San Pedro was not nearly as attractive a beach destination as Redondo Beach, Long Beach, or the newly developed resorts of Hermosa Beach and Venice.[7] Thus, in the first decade of the twentieth century, San Pedro was a city without a well-defined character, a community with a strong

industrial base and the promise of growth, but without equally sound civic pride or the potential for the same.

The San Pedro Woman's Club intended to improve San Pedro's fortunes. Primarily the wives of prominent local businessmen, most club members lived on the two hills that bracketed the city to the north and south, Vinegar and Nob Hill respectively. From these vantage points, literally above the sounds and smells of the harbor and the fishing boats, they observed the character of their community. Across the Stingaree Gulch crowded the small enterprises of the business district, with Front Street displaying "a solid row of saloons" just across a dusty road from the operations of the railroad depot and harbor. Nestled between the lofty residential neighborhoods was an area known as Happy Valley, "a place dedicated to undisguised sin." The businesses here, primarily saloons and brothels, catered to the steady stream of sailors and railroad workers who moved through the small city.[8] The Woman's Club members were all too aware of the city's shortcomings; in their opin-



In 1912, the original Front Street, San Pedro, was widened and renamed Harbor Avenue. This 1917 image shows the street between Fourth and Fifth. Even during Prohibition, alcohol prevailed, and by the early 1940s the saloons were back in full force. *Courtesy Photo Collection/Los Angeles Public Library.*

ion, they could point to them from their own front yards.

Under these conditions, San Pedro would never become a residential city able to attract its fair share of the home-seekers pouring into the region, but would always remain fundamentally a seaport town with a rough and unsavory reputation. "To many who have been in the business part of the city only, it will seem doubtful that there is a beautiful area," acknowledged the *Los Angeles Times*. While it quickly contradicted that image, the author was not very specific about where the "beautiful area" of San Pedro might in fact be found.[9] Woman's Club members measured San Pedro's primary shortcomings in the saloons and on the streets of Happy Valley. From San Pedro's earliest days, the saloon culture had been a source of worry for the city's respectable female population. The reply to their repeated requests to shut down the "dives" and limit saloon licenses in Stingaree Gulch was that the city needed the income they provided.[10] As it became clear that local leaders could not—or would not—remedy this ailment, thus indirectly demeaning the women's club and its efforts to improve their city, club members turned to their more powerful and more accommodating new neighbor for redress.

By 1906 Los Angeles had amassed an impressive record of battling saloon and vice interests. Ordinances against "vice premises," including saloons and brothels, were issued in the city as early as 1876 when the city council delineated the areas within which these businesses could operate. An 1899 law extended the closing hours for saloons from midnight to one o'clock a.m., but also limited the total number of saloon licenses to two hundred and established the saloon district outside of residential areas. City charter amendments passed in 1902 outlawed gambling and prostitution within city limits, followed by an anti-prizefighting ordinance passed in 1903.[11]

However, it was the 1906 municipal elections that indicated Los Angeles, inspired by Progressivism, would address temperance and prostitution issues with vigor. In that election the Republican Party, controlled by a coalition of railroad, private utility, and vice interests, was defeated in seventeen of twenty-three races by a confederation of political reformers. These reformers were closely allied with anti-vice activists, and their newfound control of local government offices promised a still more rigorous attitude toward licensing and enforcement of saloon operations. While this progression boosted Los Angeles's anti-vice reputation, this stance also had potential consequences for cities that shared its borders. As Los Angeles lawmakers increasingly constricted operating conditions for saloons and "social clubs" within their own city limits, purveyors of alcohol moved their establishments to cities just beyond Los Angeles's legal reach. Just three miles south of downtown Los Angeles, neighboring Vernon was the first to reap the dubious rewards as trolley cars filled with young Los Angeles residents invaded their city to partake of forbidden pleasures. It was only logical to fear that soon they would be traveling to San Pedro in similar numbers to patronize the businesses of Happy Valley and Stingeree Gulch. Concerned women in San Pedro worked first to arouse local support for the elimination of saloons, and when that strategy failed they supported municipal annexation to keep their community from becoming the barroom of Los Angeles.

In 1906 Los Angeles began organizing to ensure San Pedro would be eligible for annexation. First the larger city took control of a narrow strip of territory extending south to the waterfront, commonly referred to as the "shoestring strip," which technically made San Pedro contiguous with the larger metropolis. Consolidation backers in Los Angeles then formed a Harbor Commission, though they did not, technically, yet have a harbor. This move was seen as both presumptuous and threatening to those who wished to preserve San Pedro's independence, and spurred a flurry of organizations in the smaller city as well.[12] To its citizens, San Pedro was not merely a strategic territory; it was their home. "San Pedro is not simply a place where the government is building a harbor, a stretch of water front, uninhabited and improved," protested the local *San Pedro Daily News*. "There is a young city here peopled with intelligent, hustling, wide-awake men



A view of San Pedro's harbor, much sought after by Los Angeles. Access to the port provided the larger metropolis with a trading link to the Pacific and the rest of the world. Now known as Worldport LA, the Los Angeles harbor at San Pedro is the busiest port in the United States and a leader on the international trading scene. *Courtesy Regional History Center, University of Southern California.*

and women, who are able to think and act for themselves"[13]

Under Fanny Hogaboom's leadership, one group of "wide-awake" women took it upon themselves to "efface the unpleasing features, that give to visitors a poor impression of our city."[14] If they could raise local pride and improve municipal services, the reasoning went, their fellow residents would defend the city's autonomy. The Woman's Club of San Pedro, only a year old, fervently modified its mission from that of a literary self-improvement club to one devoted to civic improvement. The *San Pedro Daily News*, an anti-annexationist paper edited by Hogaboom's husband, heartily applauded this effort to boost community sentiment. "It cannot be denied that San Pedro is behind the procession in some respects," admitted the editor. "It is simply a prevailing condition, and the women of San Pedro, if they take up the matter in dead earnest, can do wonders toward changing the conditions."[15] The stakes of this undertaking were high. As the club secretary noted in the minute book, her club "realiz[ed] what failure means."[16] Several months later, male San Pedrans also organized as the local Chamber of Commerce. It appeared that the municipal bride-to-be would not be easily wooed.

Among the very first issues the Woman's Club intended to tackle was the prevalence of saloons.



Pictured here is the drinking fountain donated to the city by the San Pedro Woman's Club in 1906. Providing a healthy alternative to saloon fare, the fountain was placed on a city block that counted nine bars. The water fountain was emblematic of the club's campaign against alcohol, which experienced only temporary success during Prohibition. *Courtesy San Pedro Bay Historical Society.*

Only months after reorganizing the Woman's Club, the membership appointed a committee to work with another, better known, women's organization: the local chapter of the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU). The groups proposed working together to invade and occupy the male territory of the saloon district itself, and to be successful they would need this strong alliance. Together the two groups agreed to place a public drinking fountain—"a plain affair, yet with enough character to save it from being called a pump"—in the center of town, within half a block of nine of San Pedro's saloons.[17] The primary purpose of the fountain was to offer refreshment other than alcohol to the workers and sailors who congregated in the area. At the same time, it would physically represent the concerns of the clubwomen in a district they felt less than comfortable frequenting. Their fountain, clearly marked with the words "San Pedro Woman's Club," would indicate their alternate definition of appropriate behavior in a concrete manner as WCTU units had done in other cities.

Knowing that San Pedro's governing board of trustees would not pay for such a project, the women's organizations realized they needed to raise sufficient money to purchase the fountain.[18] With a small membership they could not hope to raise the funds solely amongst themselves, though numerous card parties were arranged to that end. Thinking on a grander scale, they also organized what the local newspaper called "the event of the season," a large public entertainment featuring both local and Los Angeles area performers.[19] It required a full four months of planning, several fund raisers, and a few private cash donations, but the two groups finally amassed enough money for not one but two fountains to be placed on principal corners of the city. They proudly approached city leaders to offer their hard-earned gifts to San Pedro. The response was disappointing. The board of trustees proved profoundly ambivalent about the women's proposal.

In mid-July the board of trustees received a letter from the Woman's Club and the WCTU seeking permission to place their drinking fountains on the city's public streets. Despite the fact that surrounding property owners had already agreed to the fountains, the trustees decided to postpone a decision on the request for one week.[20] The issue was not taken

up again at that time, however. Nor did the board of trustees mention the disposition of the Woman's Club's gift for several months. Fanny Hogaboom alluded to the board's delay in her speech on San Pedro's annexation to Los Angeles, hinting that some believed the people of San Pedro "incapable of governing themselves to their own advantage . . ." She continued, "I really consider this an insult to the manhood and womanhood of San Pedro," but acknowledged that the only way the city could disprove such accusations was for local government to act in a manner consistent with the morality and interests of its citizenry.[21] One month after her impassioned speech, and another four months after the women's initial fountain offer, the board of trustees accepted the Woman's Club fountain, placing it, as approved, near the Pioneer Saloon.[22] The fountain from the WCTU, however, planned for a corner one block away from that of the Woman's Club, was not accepted for another ten months, until November of 1907. The city's governing body correctly believed that the fountain proposals were only a part of a larger agenda to rid San Pedro of its lucrative saloons. Taking a more aggressive stance than their Woman's Club counterparts, the WCTU simultaneously offered its fountain and began its campaign to limit the sale of alcohol.

In early August of 1906 the president of San Pedro's WCTU, Florence Ralston, submitted a petition to the board of trustees requesting that the city's saloons be closed on Sundays following blue law practice. Though the board dismissed the signatories quickly in their minutes, erasing with a curt "et al" the effort entailed in collecting signatures, the petition had been signed by "the mothers, wives, and daughters of the men of San Pedro."[23] Local businessmen opposed the saloon closings, arguing that shutting them down would not add to the value of San Pedro property and would deny the owners needed income.[24] The actions and interactions the men hoped to influence within their territory were those of business and profit-making, goals that in this case directly countered those of the San Pedro Woman's Club for their community.

While both sides shared a commitment to preserving the city's independence at this point, they had different conceptions of what that independent city should look like. More than three hundred businessmen signed a second petition asking the board to disregard that submitted by the women one week earlier. Roman D. Sepulveda, a prominent local citizen and member of a well-respected Californio family, simultaneously sent two letters to the board, asking in one for indefinite postponement of the vote on the saloon closings, and in the other offering to donate ten acres of land to the city for a park. Not to be outdone, his sister, Rudecinda F. S. De Dodson, an active supporter of the Woman's Club, began her own negotiations with the board. Determined that the women's proposals be heard, she proposed the donation of twice as many acres of her own land.[25]

Finally, the board concluded that it had to put the matter to a public vote. After numerous postponements and changes in schedule, the vote was held in early October. The women's measure won. Although they managed to close the saloons one day each week and, finally, get the fountains positioned, the reluctance of the board to address their fundamental concerns was all too clear to the Woman's Club. The board continued to deflect other women's petitions protesting the presence of saloons until the eve of annexation, and as late as 1913 the Woman's Club was still complaining that the fountain they had so generously donated to the city was out of order and rendered useless.[26]

The issue of San Pedro's saloons and their ability to operate in the future became one of the main points of contention in the annexation debates. The *Los Angeles Examiner* took great pains to convince San Pedro saloon owners that they were not being targeted by the city of Los Angeles. "The [Los Angeles Consolidation] Committee assures the saloon element of the harbor towns that they will enjoy the same privileges as a citizen of Los Angeles upon consolidation and that the number of saloons at present will be allowed to continue in business," soothed the *Examiner*.[27] The *Los Angeles Express*, on the other hand, reported that the sale of liquor would be more strictly regulated if the harbor town merged with Los



A1937 aerial shot of San Pedro. The coveted harbor is partially visible at the bottom, Point Fermin is just out of sight at the far left, and Terminal Island appears in the foreground. *Courtesy Photo Collection/Los Angeles Public Library.*

Angeles. According to the *Express*, not only would a new ordinance limit to twelve the number of saloons allowed to operate in San Pedro, but new "liquor zones" within which it was permissible to sell alcohol would be drawn up as well.[28] The *San Pedro Daily News*, determinedly opposed to consolidation until after the votes were tallied, played up these contradictory reports concluding that Los Angeles leaders were intentionally unclear on their position regarding saloons and even suggested that the mayor was in financial cahoots with liquor advocates.[29]

In the meantime, the membership of the Woman's Club became increasingly aware that its counterparts within Los Angeles wielded more power and garnered more respect from their elected representatives

than San Pedro officials showed their own women's organization during the fountain dispute. In Los Angeles, women's clubs suggested civic projects such as a new juvenile court or the construction of playgrounds, and the government undertook implementing them. Since 1903, women's civic roles in that city were recognized through official appointments. In San Pedro, by contrast, not only did men reserve all government appointments for themselves, but also stalled women's proposals indefinitely. In order to increase its own legitimacy as a serious civic organization, the San Pedro Woman's Club began to avail itself of the complicated bureaucratic network of women's clubs throughout the region.

Both formal and informal avenues existed for such contacts. Since 1900 individual clubs could federate together on a number of levels: within the Los Angeles District Federation they came into contact with other clubs throughout Los Angeles County; the California State Federation provided contacts with clubs from one end of the state to another; and at the national level, thousands of women's clubs participated in the General Federation of Women's Clubs. Representatives from individual clubs and these federations visited the women of San Pedro to share their experiences in civic work. "From the beginning, Reciprocity Day was the biggest day of the club year," recalled one early San Pedro host to these visits. "In view of the traveling conditions at that time, the distances covered to come to these affairs is quite surprising. But come they did. . . ."[30] Emma Greenleaf, an active member of women's groups in Los Angeles, had been a guest and speaker at the meeting during which the San Pedro Club's constitution was proposed, and one month later representatives of the San Pedro Woman's Club visited the Pathfinders Club of nearby Compton. When Greenleaf returned as a guest several months after the reorganized San Pedro Woman's Club began meetings, her talk was filled with suggestions for civic work.[31]

The women of San Pedro also invited Arabella Rodman, a well-known member of the powerful Friday Morning Club of Los Angeles and the president of the Los Angeles Playground Commission, to speak to them on civic improvement. She explained to the assembled members of the San Pedro Woman's Club the importance of forming committees to investigate such issues as garbage collection, the improvement of streets and schools, and the problems of smoke and noise.[32] Of course, in Los Angeles such investigations often took place under the authority of women, like herself, appointed to city commissions overseeing parks, housing, and municipal art. The message, that in Los Angeles women were increasingly holding government posts from which to influence municipal policy, was not lost on her audience.

One aspect that separated the San Pedro Club from its counterparts in Los Angeles was its seeming lack of permanence. By 1906 the two largest and most influential women's clubs of the larger city boasted their own clubhouses. The Friday Morning Club—named for its meeting day—operated out of its Spanish mission-style headquarters on Figueroa Street, while the Ebell Club met in its own Greek Revival clubhouse on Broadway. Both these clubhouses provided their memberships with material benefits the San Pedro Woman's Club could not claim, such as centralized locations capable of accommodating the entire assembled membership, and close proximity to male centers of power like the city hall and the chamber of commerce. Their handsome meeting houses stood as monuments to the clubs' civic commitment to passers-by and visitors alike. If the women of San Pedro were to command the same levels of respect from their fellow citizens, they concluded, they too would have to acquire a clubhouse. From 1907 on, the Woman's Club began shifting its energies from boosting its city to increasing its own status as a permanent fixture of the community. The women's shift from active opponents of annexation to supporters of a greater Los Angeles was thus rooted in their frustration at San Pedro's neglect of their contributions to the independence movement and their concomitant determination to increase their own authority in civic matters.

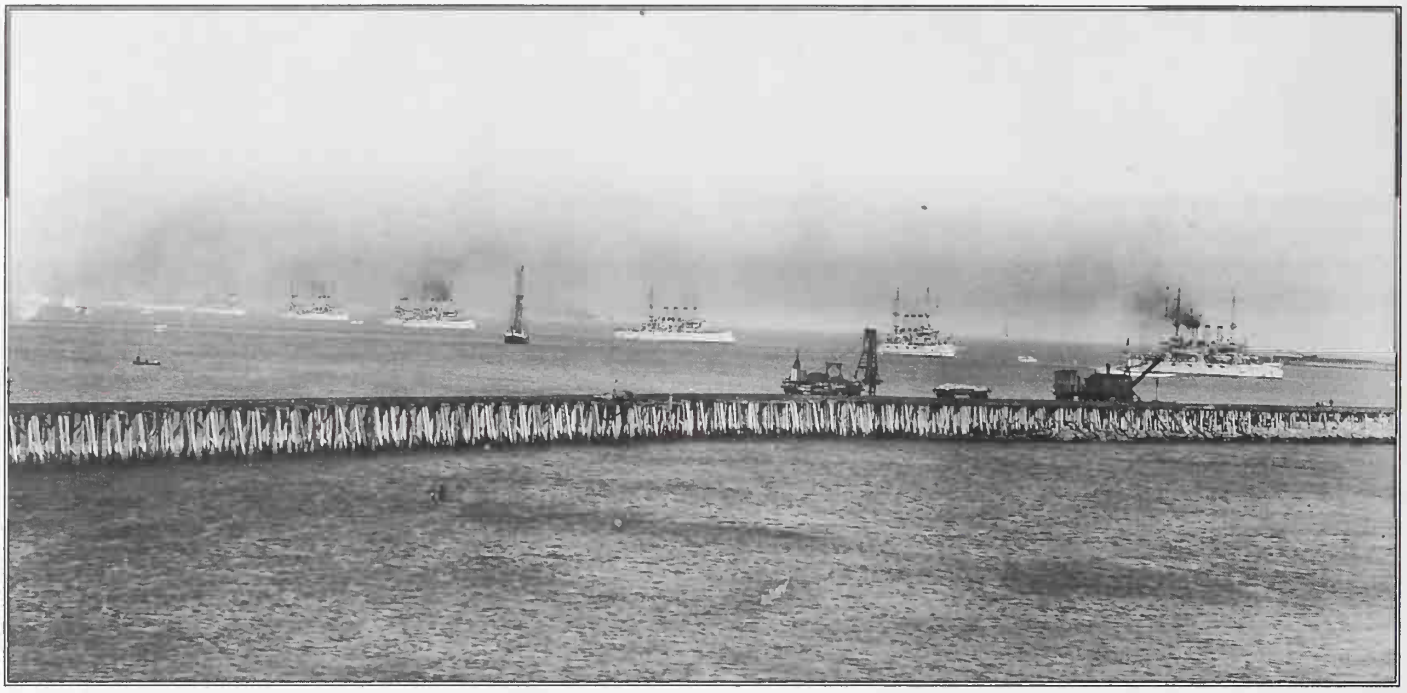
To prepare themselves for the clubhouse project, members increasingly met with representatives of other clubs from whom they learned planning and

fund-raising strategies. "After telling of visits made to the Ebell Club of Long Beach and to the Whittier Club and giving a description of the club home acquired by the latter . . . [it was] moved that each club member endeavor to earn a dollar for the club house fund," noted the club secretary. A few weeks later, members of the Pathfinder Club of Compton, the Woman's Club of Whittier, and the Friday Morning Club of Los Angeles were guests of the San Pedro organization and shared their fund raising techniques with their hostesses.[33]

Issues of clubhouse fund-raising monopolized club minutes from late 1907 to the eve of the city's annexation to Los Angeles. In 1908, when the United



San Pedro celebrated the arrival of the Great White Fleet in 1908. Although it was soon to become part of Los Angeles, small town sentiment shows in the welcoming sign where San Pedrans displayed their hometown pride and individuality prior to annexation in 1909. *Courtesy Photo Collection/ Los Angeles Public Library.*



The United States Naval "Great White" Fleet, above, upon arrival in San Pedro. In addition to a trading port, San Pedro was the site of the first submarine base on the Pacific Coast. Conditions were good for submarine fleets, with a 2.11-mile breakwater and over six hundred acres of anchorage space at a depth of forty feet or more. *California Historical Society, Title Insurance and Trust Collection, Regional History Center, USC.*

States Naval Fleet came to San Pedro, the local newspaper embraced the opportunity to boost the image and reputation of the city. If booster businessmen expected the Woman's Club to form a welcoming committee or hang banners, they were destined for disappointment. Instead the club took a more opportunistic view of the festivities. One entrepreneurial member suggested that to accommodate spectators of the Great White Fleet, they sell boxed lunches to the crowds at twenty-five cents each to benefit the clubhouse fund. The moment presented an honor as well as an opportunity for the city of San Pedro. President Theodore Roosevelt's pageant of American sea power was composed of sixteen new battleships of the Atlantic Fleet that traveled around the world in a much publicized fourteen-month voyage. "On this occasion visitors from far away places came to view the magnificent array [of the Navy]," recalled the club's historian. "The hillsides were lined with spectators. Its grandeur was breath-taking . . . In contrast to such display of vastness, club members centered their attention upon mundane affairs." Club members sold hams, potato salads, pies and cakes earning a profit of more than $163.[34] The local club thus demonstrated its utilization of broader regional networks not only for advice on clubhouse building, but also for successful fund raising. Increasingly, their activities tied them to greater Los Angeles rather than insulating them within their own community. This wider circle of acquaintance was reflected in their changing aspirations for San Pedro.

By the end of 1908 the club was openly wavering on its anti-annexation stance. At a special session it decided to sponsor a speech by the popular consolidation advocate, Captain Amos Fries.[35] Increasingly, well-dressed prominent women demonstrated a powerful presence at pro-consolidation rallies, their white dresses and hats standing out in the densely packed audiences.[36] Their work was complemented in Los Angeles by their allies in the Friday Morning Club. The Los Angeles organization issued postcards to its membership scattered throughout the city, "urging all members to use

their influence in favor of consolidation," reported the *Examiner*. "Members of the club area are asked to do what they can to induce the men within the circle of their influence to cast their votes at both [the Los Angeles and San Pedro] consolidation elections."[37] The *Los Angeles Express*, which supported the annexation move, advised its readers that on election day, San Pedro Woman's Club members would serve boxed lunches to voters, a service the vehemently anti-annexation *San Pedro Daily News* failed to mention to its own readers.[38]

In early August of 1909 the annexation measure passed overwhelmingly in both cities, and the communities of San Pedro and Los Angeles embarked on what one observer called "the twenty-year honeymoon" spelled out in the terms of the agreement. The young woman in the wedding picture may have been expected to submit to her husband's wishes entirely, but the Woman's Club activists lost little time in flexing their political muscles in their newly expanded territory by introducing themselves to their new government officials. Less than one month after formal consolidation, club representatives met with Los Angeles park commissioners regarding an expanded civic role for San Pedro women. The club arranged to have members of the park commission address its membership and approached Rodman's Playground Commission for help in securing trees for the community's streets.[39] Florence Collins Porter, a politically active member of the Friday Morning Club and a past president of the Los Angeles District Federation, visited the San Pedro club to lecture on current events, and over the course of the next several months it allied with other area clubs to protest the development of the Hetch Hetchy Valley in Yosemite National Park.[40] The San Pedro Woman's Club had expanded its purview beyond its immediate surroundings and members began to insinuate themselves into the larger political sphere of the club network that stretched across California.

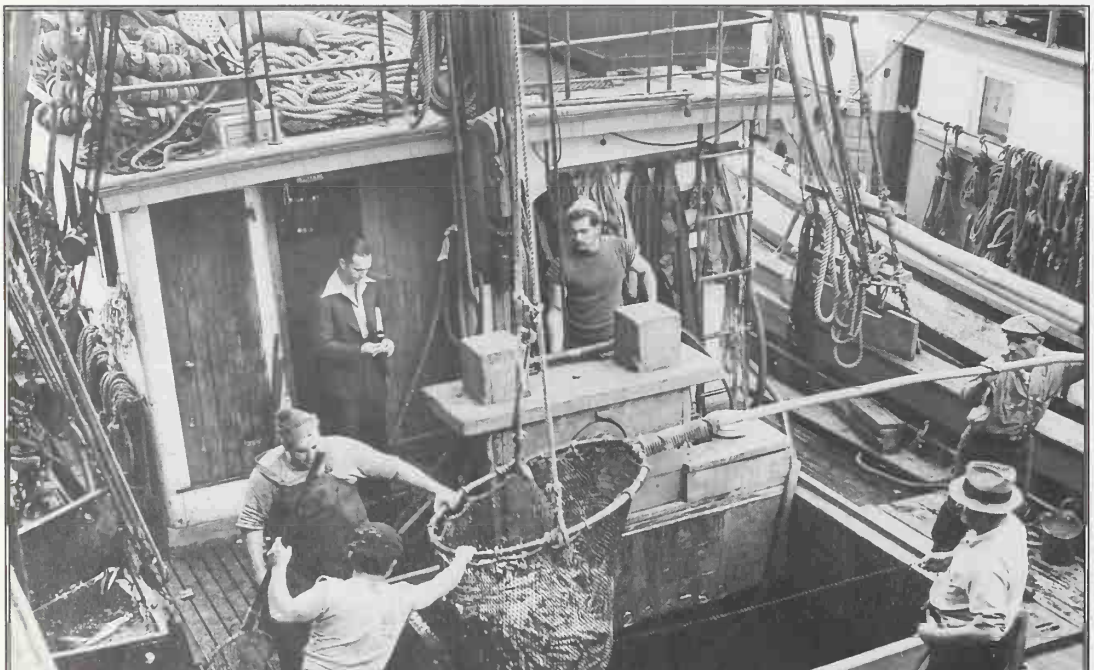
San Pedro, however, did not become the residential city the Woman's Club had hoped for. With further harbor development starting in 1911 the community lost the one waterfront resort area it had developed. In 1912, advances in fish packing technologies ensured San Pedro's place at the head of that industry on the West Coast. Increasingly, immigrant workers including Yugoslavs, Italians, Croatians and Japanese flooded the area surrounding the wharves, occupying poorly constructed housing and creating their own cultural centers.[41] Trade union activity, specifically strikes lead by the International Workers of the World in 1915 and again in 1923, gave the cannery area a reputation for labor activism in a vehemently open-shop city, placing it ideologically as well as geographically on the fringe of Los Angeles.[42]

By the 1930s and 1940s, San Pedro's run-down immigrant neighborhoods became bohemian enclaves as well, attracting left-leaning writers such as Carey McWilliams, Louis Adamic, and Jack London. "It was a normal seaport town," wrote Adamic, "most of its inhabitants working-people." While he favorably compared the smells of San Pedro, "crude oil, fresh lumber, oranges, lemons, spices, coffee, [and] fish," to the "phoney beauty" of Los Angeles and Hollywood, these were not the smells of a "city" like that envisioned by Hogaboom and her compatriots.[43] Los Angeles authors increasingly cast San Pedro as the "anti-Los Angeles," and juxtaposed its canneries and dingy apartments to the wealth and staged beauty of the city as a whole.[44]

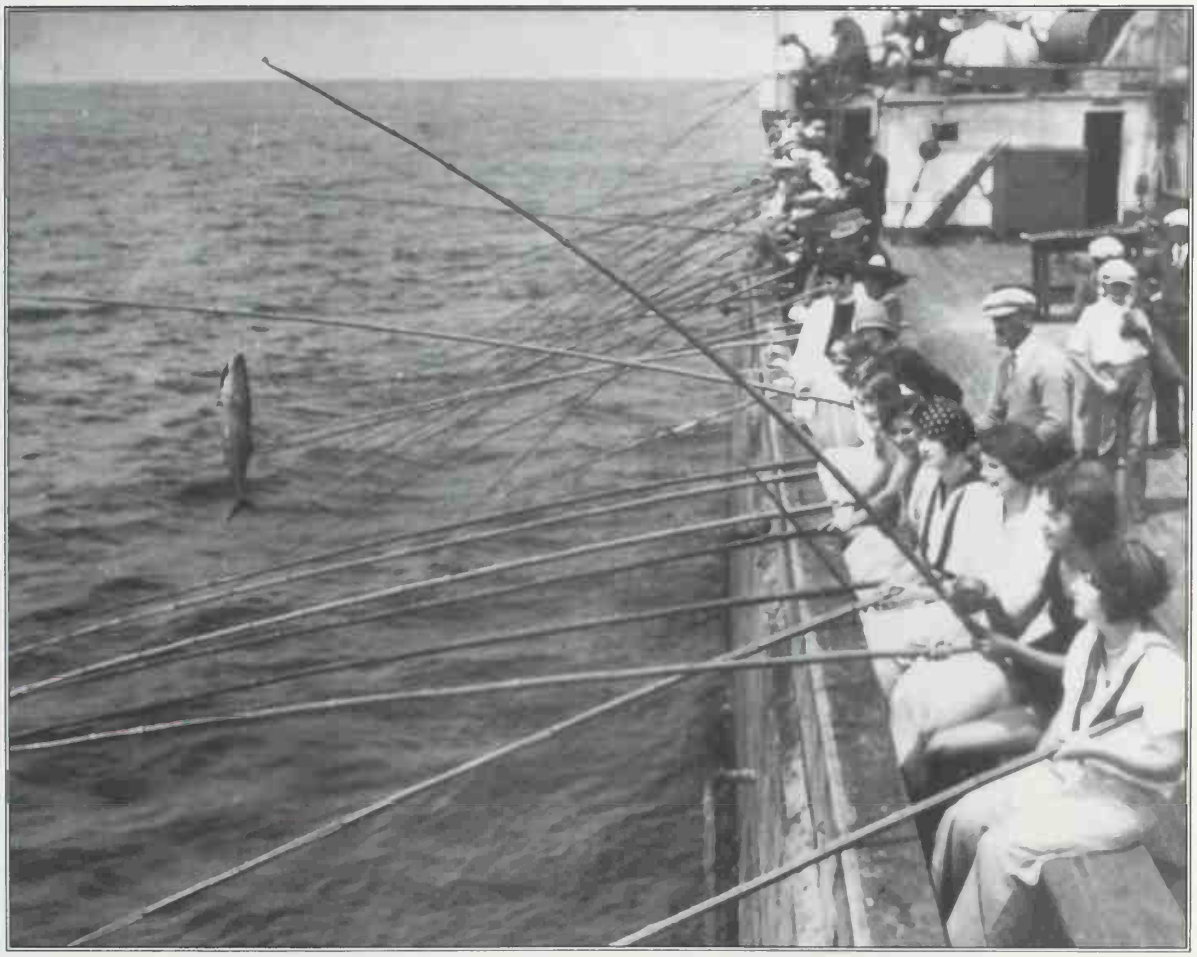
Nor did club women's hopes of making San Pedro a saloon-free town come to fruition. Soon after the consolidation vote the *Daily News* reported that all who operated licensed saloons before annexation would receive licenses again under the new arrangement, with the single exception of a barroom that doubled as a gambling hall.[45] With the passage of prohibition, alcohol consumption merely went underground in San Pedro, literally. In the "Balkan States" area of San Pedro in which Adamic lived, "Nearly every other house had a cellar, which the police did not disturb."[46] By the 1940s the bars of Happy Valley were back in business, including one called Shanghai Red's, ostensibly the "roughest waterfront bar in the world," located precisely on the corner where the San Pedro Woman's Club fountain once stood.[47]

Recently, San Pedro has joined with other annexed areas in trying to divorce Los Angeles and to regain or form individual incorporated municipalities. Citing neglect, poor financial support, and irreconcilable differences, separatist factions in the seaport community argue that their near century-long marriage has been a failure.[48] Regardless of the area's eventual municipal disposition, the story of the San Pedro Woman's Club and its conversion from ardent annexation foe to eager supporter sheds light on aspects of Los Angeles's growth previously hidden from historians and local activists alike. The decision to join San Pedro to Los Angeles was not made as lightly as some have represented, nor were the ranks of the decision makers filled solely by grasping businessmen and smug local politicians. The greater part of San Pedro's voters approved of the annexation scheme. Although the members of the Woman's Club were not among their number, as prominent and public members of their community their conclusion that the area's needs were best served by the more powerful city to the north helped to sway those voters.

Ironically, the motivations of the San Pedro Woman's Club were as rooted in organizational ambitions as in city dreams. Rather than follow the example of the local WCTU and countless other women's groups in lobbying local politicians for social reform using arguments of feminine moral authority, the Woman's Club chose to ally itself with



The early San Pedro community consisted in part of settler families from countries around the Mediterranean and Adriatic seas. Geographical location and technological advances in fish-packing methods boosted San Pedro to the head of the west-coast fishing industry in 1912. *Photograph by Dick Whittington. Courtesy Regional History Center, University of Southern California.*



San Pedro women were involved in the fishing industry in their own right. Not only did they work as laborers in the packing plants and canneries, they also partook in recreational fishing excursions such as pictured above, ca. the 1920s. *Courtesy Photo Collection/Los Angeles Public Library.*

other women's organizations that wielded a far more direct form of political power. Ultimately, the form of politics it practiced rejected its organizing premise of civic altruism in favor of public recognition and formal political authority. The club's belief that the municipal structure of Los Angeles promised more local control of its district's growth and character than the independent San Pedro board of trustees helps to explain why so many San Pedrans who voted in August of 1909 judged the marriage of their city to Los Angeles the most prudent course of action. CHS

See notes beginning on page 74.

Anastasia J. Christman earned her doctorate in United States history from the University of California, Los Angeles, in 2000. She currently teaches women's history, public history, and urban history at several Los Angeles area campuses and conducts research for a variety of local non-profit organizations.



The Hesperian, one of the longest running newspapers published by a woman, had four successive owners or co-owners. The last among them, Reverend J. D. and Mrs. M. D. Strong, changed its name to *The Pacific Monthly* shortly before selling it to Lisle Lester in 1863. *Courtesy The Bancroft Library.*

"Inspired and Possessed"

San Francisco Women Newspaper Publishers

by Anne M. Breedlove

San Francisco was an entrepreneur's dream in the decades after the Gold Rush.[1] Many migrants discovered that if they could not make a fortune panning gold in the Sierra Nevada foothills they might not do badly in a city with a booming population. The newspaper business was a venture that enticed many educated and aspiring individuals: just a decade after the discovery of gold, San Francisco had thirty seven publications.[2] Of those, twelve were dailies (five days a week) and only two published seven days a week. By 1884 there were 114 periodicals published in San Francisco, including 14 dailies, 65 weeklies, and 22 monthlies.[3]

Most who tried to make a living in the newspaper business soon discovered it did not prove to be an easy venture to master or maintain. Most nineteenth-century newspapers were of short duration; few, in fact, lasted more than two or three years. Even with the explosive growth San Francisco experienced in the decades after the Gold Rush, the financial status of most periodicals was precarious at best. The publishing industry, like most businesses, was a wide open field in mid-nineteenth-century San Francisco. Competent labor was scarce and consequently wages were relatively high. The lure of gold drove up wages as businesses were forced to offset the temptation of the Mother Lode in order to retain a workforce. In this environment it was easier for enterprising women to gain employment in fields that were all but closed to them in more established cities back east.

Between 1854 and 1893, ten of these newspapers had fourteen different women publishers or editors. Of the ten, only four stayed in business longer than two years.[4] For that era, these fourteen women were a distinctive subset of San Francisco's publishing industry. Their newspapers were decidedly different in tone and scope than their more formidable competitors, but as a group the women's periodicals shared predictable similarities. They all marketed their periodicals primarily to the female reader, regularly covering articles on housekeeping, homemaking, and child raising. Many published travel accounts, particularly of trips getting to and exploring California and accounts of California's exotic—by eastern standards—flora and fauna. While most included general-interest articles on the arts and sciences, religion, and occasionally labor relations, all used their newspapers to advocate a change in the status of women. Committed to improving women's "lot," this group of publishers chafed under the restrictions and codes women faced in Victorian America. Whether stressing labor issues, suffrage, temperance, or religion, they all used their newspapers as vehicles for change and improvement. For example, most of them agitated for equal educational opportunities for girls and boys, equal wages for equal work, and the right for women to vote, although they disagreed on the best way to attain the vote.

Newspaper work was one of several avenues of employment available to women with printing skills. Roger Levenson, author of *Women in Printing in Northern California*, documented 282 women known to have worked at all skill levels in the printing industry in Northern California between 1857 and 1890. While his monograph was a broader enterprise

Nineteenth-Century San Francisco Women Newspaper Publishers

Newspaper	Years of publication	Editor/Publisher	Frequency of publication
The Contra Costa	1854-1855	Sarah Moore Clarke	weekly
The Hesperian	1858-1863	A. M. Schulz Hermione Day Elizabeth T. Schenck	monthly
The Pacific Monthly	1863	J. D. & M. D. Strong	monthly
	1863-1864	Lisle Lester	monthly
The El Dorado	1869	Virginia F. Russell	weekly
The Sunday Mercury/The Pioneer	1869-1873	Emily Pitts Stevens	weekly
Woman's Pacific Coast Journal	1870-1871	Carrie Fisher Young	monthly
Common Sense	1874-1875	Amanda Slocum William N. Slocum	weekly
The Golden Dawn	1874-1876	Dora Darmoor	monthly
Woman's Herald of Industry and Social Science Coöperator	1881-1884	Marietta Beers-Stow Laura W. Briggs	monthly
The Carrier Dove	1883-1893	Julia Schlesinger	monthly

Source: Author's compilations.

than the specific focus of this article, his research also provided fundamental biographical information on many of the fourteen women in this study.[5] The majority of women employed in the nineteenth-century printing industry worked in the bindery, a part of the production process that had become feminized, partly because of its association with sewing and needle arts. Women also made inroads into type composition, where it was believed that women's nimble hand-eye coordination and the absence of any requirement for physical strength made this job suitable for women. Like their eighteenth-century forebears, most nineteenth-century female compositors first learned their skills in family-run shops. Very few women did presswork, partly because the strength required made it taboo for women.

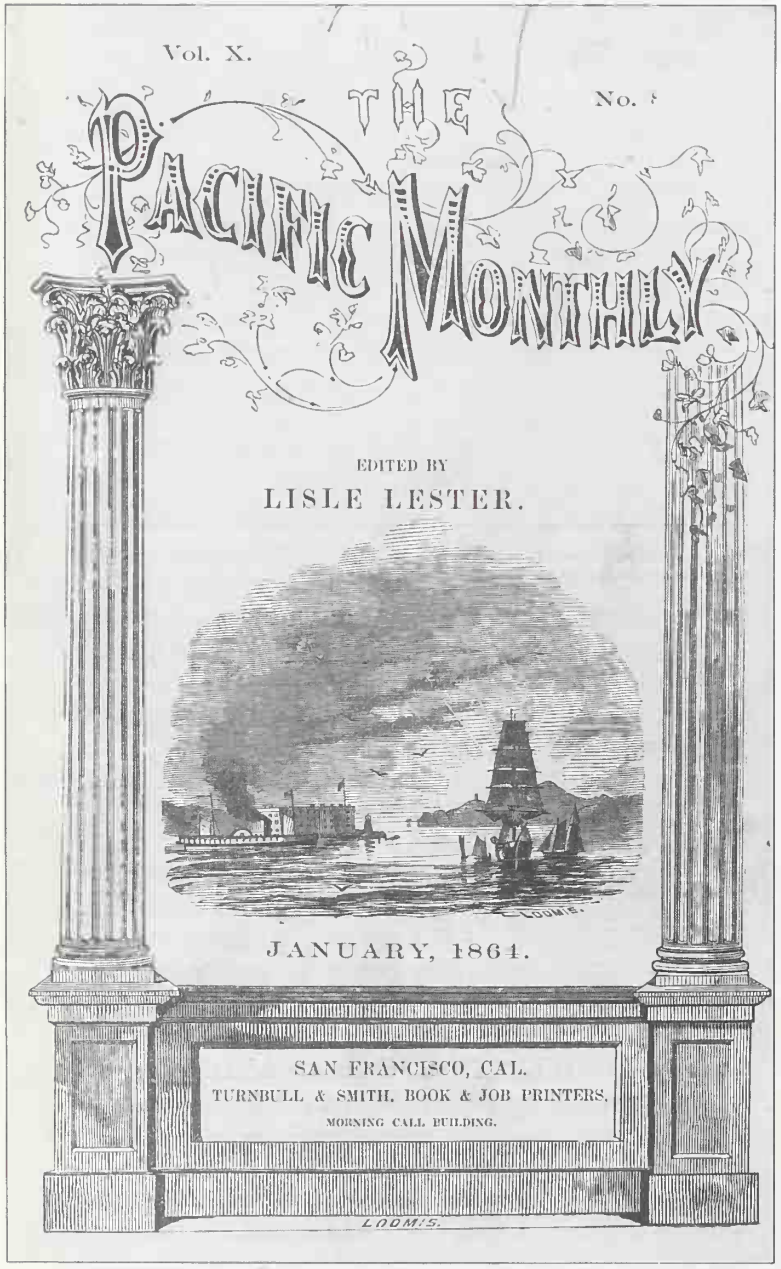
Although the job descriptions and responsibilities of editors and publishers are quite distinct today, in the pre-industrialized newspaper business of the nineteenth century the two positions and titles were often interchangeable. While all of the women in this study served in an editorial capacity, some also had sole responsibility for printing, publishing, and marketing activities. Others shared those production chores. By examining the content of their newspa-

pers, then, historians can better understand women's involvement in the social, political, and economic development of San Francisco and the West. A voluminous body of research conducted during the past several decades demonstrates the ways women participated in the political, economic, and social fabric of society despite being barred from the ballot box.[6] These women and their newspapers can also help to clarify ways in which California women participated in political discourse before they gained the vote in 1911.

Several of these pioneering publishers helped establish women's rights organizations in California after the Fifteenth Amendment, passed in 1870, denied women the vote. Some had been involved in reform in the East. Emily Pitts Stevens, for example, had made the acquaintance of Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton before her arrival in California. It was Pitts Stevens who brought Anthony and Stanton to California in 1871 to campaign on behalf of women's suffrage. Abigail Duniway, leader of Oregon's suffrage movement, was an editor on Pitts Stevens's newspaper, *The Pioneer*. After visiting Pitts Stevens in San Francisco, Duniway established her own newspaper in Oregon, the *New Northwest*.[7] Marietta L. Beers-Stow, publisher of the *Woman's Herald of Industry and Social Science Coöperator*, had been active in reform movements in New York where she gained valuable expertise that she applied in California. Elizabeth T. Schenck, editor of *The Hesperian* and the first president of the California Woman Suffrage Association (CWSA), was also the first vice-president for California of the National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA). Tension between two different contingents within the CWSA over whether to affiliate with the NWSA or American Woman Suffrage Association (AWSA) developed shortly after the CWSA was established in 1870. Schenck wrote to Stanton for advice, who recommended the CWSA "coöperate with all societies having for their object the enfranchisement of woman."[8] As a result, the CWSA voted at their first convention to remain independent of all other associations for one year. Clearly, the experience of suffrage leaders in the East proved a valuable resource for the early women's rights organizations in the West.[9]

The personal and biographical information on many of these publishers is sparse. Not surprisingly, almost all were recent arrivals in California, some came here with the express intention of working in printing or publishing. Many moved about before coming to California, and others arrived as part of that large cohort of people who responded to the possibility of opportunity and adventure the West offered. Most acquired their knowledge of printing before arriving in San Francisco and quickly put their energies into finding suitable employment for their skills. Like editors everywhere, these women held strong opinions on the leading issues of their day, made a point to get those issues in print, and occasionally found themselves involved in contentious disputes.

Sarah Moore Clarke became the first known woman editor in California when her newspaper, *The Contra Costa*, debuted in September of 1854. Its short life of only one year, in her case due to ill health, was a portent of the difficulties all the others would face. The next newspaper to be published by a woman, *The Hesperian*, lasted five years from 1858 to 1863 and had four female editors in succession. It was begun by A. M. Schulz as a woman's literary magazine. Hermione Day followed and quickly put her personal stamp on the paper by shifting Schulz's original focus on entertainment to labor issues and working conditions. "Look at the employments vouchsafed to our women. Look at their pay, when they labor diligently and faithfully all their lives long, poor creatures, in the hope of saving a little for the day of sorrow—that they may not be obliged to marry."[10] The newspaper's third editor, Elizabeth T. Schenck, found herself in extreme financial diffi-





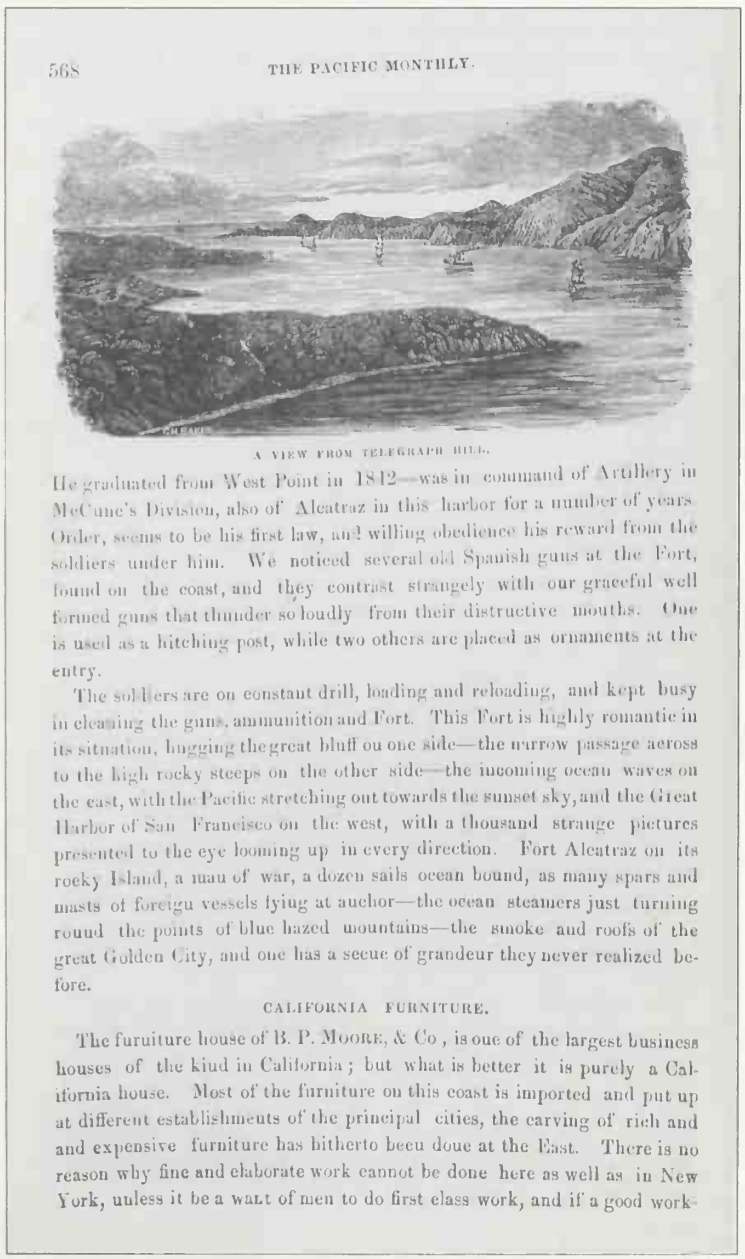
Lisle Lester. *Courtesy The Bancroft Library.*

Under Lisle Lester's direction, *The Pacific Monthly* became a politically oriented newspaper. She tried to keep the articles timely and promoted acceptance of women in the industry. *Courtesy The Bancroft Library.*

culties and brought in another editor, the Reverend J.D. Strong, to help her keep the paper afloat. Schenck soon sold it to Strong and his wife, Mrs. M.D. Strong. During their short tenure the Strongs returned the newspaper to financial stability and changed its name to *The Pacific Monthly*. Late in 1863 the Strongs sold the newspaper to one of the most colorful women in this study, Lisle Lester.

Lester is one of the few members of this small coterie of publishers who left a sizeable historical record beyond the content of her newspaper. As an educated, middle-class woman who for a time had to support herself, she is also representative of the group. Born Sophie Emmeline Walker in 1837 in New Hampshire, Lester's family moved to Wisconsin when she was six. She enrolled at the age of sixteen in Lawrence University, in Appleton, Wisconsin, one of the few colleges that admitted women in the 1850s. She left college, however, to pursue a career in journalism. Lester learned to set type, became involved in several publishing ventures in Wisconsin, and soon married a teacher, Isaac L. Bloomer, in 1858. By 1861, she divorced Bloomer and, for reasons now unknown, changed her name to Lisle Lester.

During the Civil War, Lisle Lester found ample work as a typesetter because so many male compositors went off to fight. While thus employed she was soon familiar with the gendered conflicts in the printing industry, exemplified by an unsuccessful strike by men to prevent the hiring of women compositors. As a self-supporting woman, she was



568 THE PACIFIC MONTHLY.

A VIEW FROM TELEGRAPH HILL.

He graduated from West Point in 1842—was in command of Artillery in McCune's Division, also of Alcatraz in this harbor for a number of years. Order, seems to be his first law, and willing obedience his reward from the soldiers under him. We noticed several old Spanish guns at the Fort, found on the coast, and they contrast strangely with our graceful well formed guns that thunder so loudly from their distructive mouths. One is used as a hitching post, while two others are placed as ornaments at the entry.

The soldiers are on constant drill, loading and reloading, and kept busy in cleaning the guns, ammunition and Fort. This Fort is highly romantic in its situation, hugging the great bluff on one side—the narrow passage across to the high rocky steeps on the other side—the incoming ocean waves on the east, with the Pacific stretching out towards the sunset sky, and the Great Harbor of San Francisco on the west, with a thousand strange pictures presented to the eye looming up in every direction. Fort Alcatraz on its rocky Island, a man of war, a dozen sails ocean bound, as many spars and masts of foreign vessels lying at anchor—the ocean steamers just turning round the points of blue hazed mountains—the smoke and roofs of the great Golden City, and one has a scene of grandeur they never realized before.

CALIFORNIA FURNITURE.

The furniture house of B. P. Moore, & Co, is one of the largest business houses of the kind in California; but what is better it is purely a California house. Most of the furniture on this coast is imported and put up at different establishments of the principal cities, the carving of rich and and expensive furniture has hitherto been done at the East. There is no reason why fine and elaborate work cannot be done here as well as in New York, unless it be a want of men to do first class work, and if a good work-

This page from the *Pacific Monthly* contains an interior illustration, an expensive and thus infrequent feature of small publications. This "View from Telegraph Hill," by G. H. Baker, captures a scene that would have interested readers near and far: San Francisco Bay, looking west to the Pacific Ocean, with Fort Point visible at the left. *California Historical Society, FN-32467.*

directly affected by the conflict, and began to help shape the highly political focus of her newspaper.

Lester fought for change in women's employment opportunities. By February of 1864, three months after assuming editorship of *The Pacific Monthly*, she used her editor's column to take on the Typographical Union no. 21 in San Francisco for its refusal to admit women. "We wish to place before our readers that they may see for themselves the unjust notions and rule of those who persist in keeping a woman, out of a printing office on the ground, 'of inability to give her work, because a Typographical Union controls them and their business.'"[11] Having already successfully fought sexist practices with the printer's union in Minnesota before moving to San Francisco, Lester excoriated those print shops too timid to contest the union and hire capable women compositors. "Why is it Printers have made for themselves such absurd and ridiculous rules in regard to female labor?" she asked.[12] Lester and Schenck attempted to establish a Female Typographical Union in 1864 in response to Local 21's boycott of women workers, but they failed. Juggling other interests and activities, neither woman was able to give enough attention to the fledgling enterprise to nurture it into a viable competitor with the formidable no. 21.

Other ventures devoted to promoting women's employment opportunities in San Francisco appeared. The El Dorado Publishing Association incorporated in early 1869 with the express purpose of printing a newspaper "devoted to the interests of the Women of the Pacific Coast." More than two hundred association members included prominent, established merchants of both sexes, and the funding and support they contributed to this venture was impressive. The managing board included three men and three women, including Virginia F. Russell as editor. From its first issue, the paper was fraught with conflicting messages from its first issue. An article titled "The Woman's Paper," and signed by "A Father," noted: "The time has come when the elevation of woman must and will be a subject of not only thought, but of deep, earnest advocacy by the good and philanthropic everywhere—and it is by the Printing Press that this great end is to be achieved."[13] Yet, in this same issue editor Russell announced to the public that *The El Dorado* "is what is called a 'woman's paper'—i.e., a paper conducted by women, and devoted to the interests of the women of the Pacific Coast. It is NOT and will NOT be an advocate of 'Womans Rights,' as enunciated by certain hot-headed dames whose zeal runs away with their discretion."[14] The newspaper did not survive to its one year anniversary, however, perhaps because its large membership held conflicting visions of its purpose.

The same year the *El Dorado* was launched, the *Sunday Mercury* was taken over by editor Emily Pitts Stevens. Born into a middle class New York family, Pitts Stevens had moved to San Francisco in 1865 to teach at a girls' school. Having learned how to set type, she turned to newspaper work after two years of teaching. When she assumed the editorship of *The Sunday Mercury* in January of 1869, she, like Day and Lester before her, changed the paper's focus to match her interests more closely. Among her new regular columns were "Woman's Suffrage," "Good Words for Women," and "Facts for Women." It took Pitts Stevens a few months to remake the entire paper, but before long *The Sunday Mercury* routinely carried articles with headlines like: "The Question of the Age," "What is Women's Sphere?" and "The Next Great Question of the Time."[15] "It must be clear," she wrote, "to every far-seeing mind that the subject of woman suffrage will be the next great question entering into national politics."[16] By November she renamed the paper *The Pioneer*, proudly noting on the masthead that it was "devoted to the promotion of human rights."[17] Advocating the feminization of politics, she wrote that suf-

frage would not be "the work of a day . . . We do not advocate female suffrage in itself, but only as a means to secure the higher and nobler objects which we advocate."[18]

Though Pitts Stevens evoked certain ideals of the Enlightenment, her interest in human rights did not extend past white women of early American descent. "Think of it!" she wrote, "Hans, Sambo, Patrick, Young Chung, who never read a line of the Constitution, or a word of the Declaration, making laws for the lineal daughters of the framers of that Constitution, the signers of that Declaration." She went on to ask, "would the gentlemen who tell us to wait until the Negro is safe, before we claim suffrage, be willing to stand aside themselves, and trust their interests in like hands?"[19] Her racism echoed the well-documented response of leading women reformers like Anthony and Stanton, who were especially bitter over what they interpreted as betrayal by the Abolitionists, who had failed to support the inclusion of women in the battle over passage of the Fifteenth Amendment.

Along with publishers Schenck and Carrie Fisher Young of the *Woman's Pacific Coast Journal*, Pitts Stevens was among the 3,300 signers of the CWSA petition for woman suffrage to the California State Legislature in 1870. For Pitts Stevens, publishing a newspaper provided a forum for her reform energies. While suffrage might have been the question of the age, she also worked to find pragmatic and immediate solutions to women's labor and working conditions. She actively trained and hired women to set type for her newspaper. She also promoted the new Women's Co-operative Printing Union (WCPU), a print shop begun in 1868 by Agnes B. Peterson, and she worked with Peterson to make the shop economically viable. It was also her decision to bring in Eliza G. Richmond as manager in 1869.

Peterson had launched the print shop shortly after her arrival in San Francisco in response to her inability to find employment as a compositor during Typographical Union no. 21's ban on hiring women. It was not until 1870, when the printers' union staged an eleven-day strike against wage deflation in the newspaper business—and lost—that



Eliza G. Richmond was manager of the Women's Co-operative Printing Union from the time of its incorporation in 1869. Neither publisher nor editor herself, Richmond's successful operation of the shop for eighteen years was no small feat in the competitive and restricted newspaper market. *Courtesy The Bancroft Library.*



EVERY DESCRIPTION OF

PRINTING

NEATLY EXECUTED, AT THE

Women's Co-operative Printing Union,

424 MONTGOMERY STREET,

SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.

This institution was incorporated June, 1869, for the purpose of giving suitable and honorable employment to women and girls, and enable them to fit themselves for lives of independence and usefulness.

Laboring, at first, under many embarrassing disadvantages, it has steadily persevered and is now answering the expectations of the most sanguine of its friends.

Our thanks are due to the noble men, (not a few) whose generosity founded our enterprise, and whose uniform kindness has encouraged us to persevere.

We now give employment to seven women and girls, and our work will compare favorably with that of other establishments in the city.

To our friends in the country we will send samples of work and information as to prices on application by letter.

Work will be done promptly and can be sent to an part of the interior, without delay, by express.

424 Montgomery Street,

San Francisco, Cal.

The Women's Co-operative Printing Union was a major training site for women wishing to learn composing and printing skills in San Francisco. This ad, describing their struggles and achievements and offering samples of their work, ran in Carrie Fisher Young's newspaper, the *Woman's Pacific Coast Journal*, in 1870. *Courtesy The Bancroft Library.*

union shops finally hired women compositors. By the time of the strike, through the efforts of Lester, Pitts Stevens, and Peterson, there was a sizable number of trained female compositors in the city. *The Call*, desperate to meet its deadline, hired some of these women compositors, was pleasantly surprised with the quality of their work, and wrote about it in the next edition.[20] The ban on women working for union newspapers, one of the most lucrative positions available to compositors, was finally broken in San Francisco.

It was Pitts Stevens's decision to bring in Eliza G. Richmond as manager in 1869. By 1872 Pitts Stevens relinquished any executive responsibility for the firm to Richmond, who successfully managed the WCPU for the next eighteen years, from 1872 to 1890. During her tenure Richmond made the WCPU an important competitor for print work in San Francisco, and worked with leading women activists such as Pitts Stevens, Young, and Amanda Slocum to provide opportunities to women who wanted to enter the field and quality work to anyone willing to risk hiring women printers. The sizeable amount of printed ephemera in public and private collections is testament to Richmond's and the WCPU's success.

While Pitts Stevens focused her efforts on political and labor reform, another new publisher on the scene focused on moral reform. Carrie Fisher Young's stewardship of the *Woman's Pacific Coast Journal* (WPCJ) exemplified the responsibility many women felt as upholders of moral standards. With the debut of Young's newspaper there was a noticeable shift in content and emphasis of San Francisco's women-run newspapers. The WCPJ became the first of the papers to convey a strong religious

tone and all of the subsequent newspapers followed suit, though they differed on the kind of religious ideas they embraced. Young hired the WCPU to print her newspaper and inserted a quotation by Abraham Lincoln in her paper's masthead: "With firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right," reflecting her desire to address social inequities and her belief in the right of women to shape public sentiment.[21] Suffrage, temperance, education, and labor conditions were constant themes. She wrote that her paper was "devoted to the advocacy of principles and practices which conduce the good order of society and the well-being of individuals."[22] Young published articles on the difficulties women faced in finding jobs that paid a living wage. She believed that financial independence and moral rectitude were linked, and that women who were unable to support themselves because of low wages or a lack of skills were more likely to lead immoral, unhealthy lives. She noted and commended the progressive attitude of newspaper publisher James J. Owen's *San Jose Mercury* in employing women compositors and ran a column, "What Can Girls Do?" that gave young women advice on how to chose a profession.[23] Like Lester



PACIFIC COAST

Woman's Journal.

In the Interest of Women and Children.

"With firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right."—Lincoln.

VOL. I.] SAN FRANCISCO, OCTOBER, 1870. [No. 6.

Woman's Pacific Coast Journal

PUBLISHED MONTHLY

AT $1.50 PER ANNUM, IN ADVANCE,

By CARRIE F. YOUNG,

Editor and Proprietor.

To whom all communications should be addressed, Box 1501, San Francisco.

A limited number of advertisements will be inserted at 15 cents per line, or $12.50 per column, each insertion. Money may be sent by Postoffice order, Express or Mail.

PRINTED BY

Women's Co-operative Printing Union, at Publication Office, 424 Montgomery St.

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need the benediction of kind words. Faith in the dear, Heavenly Father, who has promised to save, even to the uttermost, all who call upon His holy name.

We read that "tribulation worketh patience, and patience experience, and experience *hope*, and hope maketh not ashamed."

"*Rejoicing* in *hope*."—Hope, serene and beautiful angel of our hearts, pointing steadily to the light of better days; ever reminding us of the promises.

In the days when the heavens were covered with darkness, and the roar of battle and booming of cannon reverberated through the land, *Hope* directed our hearts and eyes to gleams of light which grew in brightness until the whole landscape was bathed in sunlight, and the white wings of peace were folded lovingly in every State and household. Now, it is ours to light the fires of hope in the drunkard's heart, and on the hearthstone of the drunkard's home. Ours to cheer his desolate wife,—to guide his neglected children. It is ours to fight, like brave soldiers, for the enactment of statute-laws, that shall protect his

stranger within our gates,—yes, sweet charity, that thinketh no evil, is patient and long-suffering, hoping all things, believing all things. Charity suffereth long and is kind; charity envieth not, vaunteth not itself, is not puffed up,—doth not behave itself unseemly,—seeketh not her own,—is not easily provoked,—thinketh no evil, rejoiceth not in iniquity, but rejoiceth in the truth.

"And now abideth Faith, Hope and Charity, these three, but the greatest of these is Charity."

Let us live true to the letter and spirit of these beautiful words,—rejoicing in hope, patient in tribulation,—continuing instant in prayer.

Distributing to the necessity of saints,—given to hospitality.

Bless them which persecute you,—bless, and curse not.

Rejoice with them that do rejoice, and weep with them that weep.

Be of the same mind one toward another. Mind not high things, but condescend to men of low estate (even to the poor drunk-

Carrie Fisher Young worked with Elizabeth T. Schenck and Emily Pitts Stevens in the California Women's Suffrage Association. Her newspaper, the *Woman's Pacific Coast Journal*, shown at left, was printed by the Women's Co-operative Printing Union. Published monthly, an annual subscription cost $1.50, paid in advance. *Courtesy The Bancroft Library.*

and Beers-Stow, Young traveled throughout the West in support of reform causes, especially temperance and women's suffrage.[24]

Where Lester and Pitts Stevens placed strong emphasis on women's political and economic rights, Young's paper carried a more strident reforming impulse, preaching clean living and wholesome values. Others, while advocating a pro-suffrage outlook, also incorporated ideas many would consider radical. Amanda Slocum, for example, used *Common Sense* to champion a "free thought" philosophy that many found morally licentious. Slocum ran numerous articles in support of free-love advocate Victoria Woodhull, and kept track of Woodhull's receptions as she traveled throughout the U. S. It did not take a great deal in Victorian America for these activist women to incur the disapprobation of the mainstream. Woodhull's support of one standard of morality for men and women elicited an outpouring of condemnation from the mainstream press.

While Amanda Slocum was more adept than Pitts Stevens in avoiding the limelight for her unorthodox beliefs, the two women had much in common. Both were active in the CWSA, both published their own newspapers and used them to promote fair wages for working women. They both taught printing skills to other women. Yet they divided over the issue of free love just as national suffrage leaders were divided by the impact of Woodhull's message. The fallout from Woodhull's ideas reveals the obstacles middle class women faced when their efforts challenged conventional standards. Pitts Stevens, in an issue of *The Pioneer*, took exception to a *San Francisco Evening Bulletin* critique of the poem, "The Woman Who Dared," by Eppes Sargent. "'Free Love,' as we understand the term," Stevens wrote, "means a free and untrammeled intercourse between the sexes, and that any public sentiment or legal enactments that impose restraints on human passions, or limits their actions, are arbitrary and oppressive."[25] While she dismissed the aesthetic quality of the poem, her main intent was to take *The Bulletin* to task for taking parts of the poem out of context. "It is customary in literature as in law, when grave charges are preferred against an author or his book, to furnish the evidence upon which the charges are founded," she wrote.

It was Pitts Stevens's defense of free love that the public remembered, however, and as she became more deeply involved in the national suffrage campaign she was repeatedly forced to defend herself against the mainstream press's accusations that she was morally unfit. Pitts Stevens was the moderator when, at her invitation, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony spoke in San Francisco in July of 1871. While the criticism then directed at Pitts Stevens was harsh, it worsened two years later when she welcomed Anna Kimball, a champion of Victoria Woodhull and the free love movement, to San Francisco. As a result of the abuse Pitts Stevens received from both the press and some of her peers in the movement for her support of Kimball, she resigned from the CWSA. In subsequent years, while continuing to support suffrage, she devoted her prodigious energies to the temperance movement, a less politically explosive endeavor for her. By contrast, Amanda Slocum, who was less bourgeois than Pitts Stevens, consciously refrained from putting herself in public situations where she would have to defend her unorthodox beliefs.

Also in 1871, a contentious legal dispute in San Francisco, which spurred Lisle Lester and other women activists to rally, left Lester brutally beaten. Laura Fair, who was accused of murdering her married lover, was tried by a jury of twelve men. When Lester and others protested that Fair had not received a fair trial, a man wielding a cane attacked and severely injured Lester. For Slocum, Pitts Stevens, Lester, and others, these and other experiences demonstrate some of the ways activist women



Marietta Beers-Stow, shown in this lithograph portrait, was the most politically astute and successful of the San Francisco women newspaper publishers. She wrote several books addressing women's legal disabilities and was the first woman to run for vice-president, on the Equal Rights Party ticket with Belva Lockwood in 1884. *Courtesy The Bancroft Library.*

accommodated—or paid for opposing—Victorian morality.[26]

Publisher Dora Darmoor took exception to the more radical wing of the woman's suffrage movement, particularly to the free love, free thought philosophy promoted by Woodhull and reported in Slocum's *Common Sense*. Darmoor, whose *Golden Dawn* circulated from 1874 to 1876, wrote that she intended "to keep her paper separate and above the fray." She then attacked Slocum's ideas as nonsense.[27] Though Darmoor was genteelly committed to women getting the vote, she was not a supporter of universal suffrage. She wrote that "suffrage should be restricted to the educated . . . not to sex, color, nor other natural qualification" and opposed the granting of suffrage "to the lowest class" of recent immigrants.[28] The rejection of male ethnic minorities' access to the ballot by these white, middle-class, and mostly educated women should be seen within the context of the abolition movement and the passage of the Fifteenth Amendment in 1870. The granting of the vote to all men, including uneducated former slaves and functionally illiterate immigrants, provoked bitter prejudicial reactions among educated white women. None of the women in this study ever conveyed the remotest connection to or identification with other marginalized groups. In fact, most of them took great pains to separate themselves, morally and intellectually, from uneducated, working-class immigrant, men.

Like Young, Beers-Stow promoted a holistic approach to reform in her newspaper, the *Woman's Herald of Industry and Social Science Coöperator*, which debuted in September of 1881. Furthermore, as president of the newly formed California Woman's Social Science Association (SSA), Beers-Stow's paper was the mouthpiece for this alternative movement, whose board included only women.[29] Beers-Stow listed seven reasons for publishing the *Herald*, which coincided with the SSA's interests:

> First, because the daily and many of the weekly papers are mainly devoted to the interest and well-being of the representative class. Second, to prove that the triple 'curse' (labor, childbearing, subjection), under which woman has been held for all time is false Third, to preach the new gospel of fewer and better children Fourth, to preach the new gospel of co-operation Fifth, to preach the gospel for preventing crime Sixth, to lay bare the mischief resulting from a purely masculine form of government in Church and State and Seventh, to get the laws of inheritance amended so that widows would stand equal with widowers before the law.[30]

The SSA promoted an alternative healthful lifestyle that one hundred years later would fit without too much difficulty into today's New Wave movement. Her newspaper agitated for not only political reform but also nutritional and clothing reform. Her identification of class conflict, the need for birth control, and a cooperative alternative to capitalism places her movement well outside the mainstream. As the penniless widow of a very wealthy hardware store merchant, for years Beers-Stow unsuccessfully battled the state of California to receive a portion of his estate. Her experiences about the inequities widows faced in the legal system led her to publish two books, *Probate Confiscation* and *Probate Chaff*. In *Women in Printing*, Levenson noted that Beers-Stow's efforts "hastened the adoption of community property laws in California."[31]

Although Beers-Stow supported women's rights and suffrage, she differed from the other publishers in this study over the means to achieving those goals. She took a pragmatic approach to gaining both the franchise and legal equality for women, yet women's unequal legal and political position handicapped all her formidable efforts. As a result, she focused her efforts on demonstrating how much woman's subservient position in society stemmed from inequities in the law. In addition to her two books, she wrote articles on the history of woman's legal and social status, participated in writing legislation to change inheritance laws, and worked to enact laws that improved conditions for factory workers and limited the work day to eight hours. Beers-Stow served as the second president of the CWSA, and, like Shenck and Pitts Stevens, she worked at both local and national levels for woman's suffrage. In 1882 she ran for governor of California. In 1884 she was the first woman to run for vice president on the national ticket of the newly formed Equal Rights party, with Belva Lockwood as the presidential candidate.

Like her peers, Beers-Stow did not extend her goals for social equality to non-white minorities in San Francisco. Her campaign for governor included the pledge to remove the Chinese from California. In the same breath she took to espouse her philosophy of social cooperation, she attacked the Chinese presence in California. She wrote that one of the evils of child labor was that white children were forced to work side by side with "Chinamen." "If the Chinamen must be employed," she wrote, "put them by themselves."[32] Her vision of a socially cooperative utopia included whites only.

Beers-Stow also promoted clothing and food reform in her paper. She regularly presented articles espousing the benefits of alternatives to the corset and layers of clothing Victorian women were expected to wear. She promoted several costumes, but most included a pair of pants worn beneath an apron-like garment that allowed greater freedom of movement without fully shocking the mores of the time. To advance this cause, she financed competitions and awarded prizes for the best alternatives to the restrictive women's attire of the late nineteenth century. She published testimonials from women who had liberated themselves from the corset. Cornelia Boecklyn of Burlington, Iowa, for example, declared that she had "worn pantaloons for 11 years and have no desire to wear any sort of skirt."[33] Beers-Stow invented her own alternative to the corset, the Tripple S. Costume, and marketed it in her *Women's Herald*. By early 1885, however, she had turned her interests to lecturing and philanthropy, and ceased publication of the newspaper.[34]

Founded in 1883, two years after the *Women's Herald*, *The Carrier Dove* survived for a full decade, and gained a national following. It was the last newspaper published by a woman during that century. Publisher Julia Schlesinger, like some of her predecessors, also used the WCPU to print her newspaper. The *Dove's* primary focus was spiritualism, an alternative religious movement begun at mid-cen-



Julia Schlesinger, above, presided for ten years over the last woman-edited newspaper in San Francisco in the nineteenth century *The Carrier Dove*. *Courtesy California Historical Society.*

tury. Schlesinger also filled the weekly with news of the suffrage, temperance, and woman's rights movements. Almost every issue included columns on the injustice of withholding the elective franchise from women. "Without the ballot woman is dwarfed," began one article.[35] Another, titled "Election Day from a Woman's Viewpoint," disputed "the prevailing opinion that women have no concern for the science of government."[36] The timing of *The Carrier Dove*, with its spiritualist focus, proved auspicious. Of the newspapers surveyed here, it enjoyed the longest run and the widest readership. Nonetheless, its demise in 1893 ended the era of women-published newspapers in San Francisco.

The conditions that had cultivated independent women's adventures during the preceding forty years had begun to disappear by 1900. In the second half of the nineteenth century, women had found it significantly easier to establish businesses in the undeveloped and labor-starved West than in the East. The impact of increased industrialization on small businesses, such as small newspapers, can be ascertained by a perusal of data in the U. S. Bureau of the Census on Manufacturing from 1860 to 1914. Before 1900, the amount of capital investment and technology necessary to establish a newspaper was relatively easily attainable for those who had access to modest capital, the willingness to work long hours, and the right skills. In the twentieth century, however, mechanized technology demanded greater amounts of capital investment, requiring newspapers and print shops to secure the support of financial groups. Marginal proposals were now typically screened out.[37]

Perhaps because they knew firsthand the precarious nature of financial independence, the women publishers in this study vigorously supported labor reforms for working women and children. At the same time, they were biased against other groups, especially Asians, and railed against the right of immigrants and black men to exercise the franchise, never recognizing their own role in perpetuating the attitudes of exclusion that others directed toward them. These and other examples of their commitment to various reforms—expressed primarily through their power of the press—helped educate the populace and thereby challenged the status quo. Yet despite their and others' prodigious efforts in support of women's suffrage, California women did not win the vote until 1911.

In the 1870s, women's political engagement



The weekly *Carrier Dove* was printed by the Women's Co-operative Printing Union. This photograph shows the engraved cover, which holds the bound edition for 1889. *California Historical Society, North Baker Research Library, Gift of Robert S. Schwantes; FN-32464.*

expanded into broader organizational activity. Clearly a response to the exclusion of gender from the Fifteenth Amendment, women came to realize that no one was going to give them the vote. They would have to earn it. An articulation of the struggle may be found in "Woman, as a Revolutionist," an essay published by Pitts Stevens in *The Pioneer*. "Nothing is clearer, " she wrote in part, "than that woman must lead her own revolution. Only woman is sufficient to state women's claims and vindicate them."[38] Although women did attempt to lead this revolution, in reality they possessed few instruments of power or advantage.

Passage of women's suffrage was further thwarted by the highly masculinized party politics of the late nineteenth century. Beers-Stow, who, like others, recognized that this handicap reduced women reformers to citizens outside the electorate, reported regularly on political maneuverings that sabotaged suffrage and reform efforts.[39] With their presses as podium, Beers-Stow and others fought against the gendered nature of civic affairs. Although they had virtually no access to decision-making functions of public office, their growing political sophistication can be seen in their increasingly pragmatic and specific approaches to change.

Most of the fourteen women here believed that the vote was the key to solving the many inequities women faced. "The moment women have the ballot," wrote Pitts Stevens, "I shall think the cause is won."[40] She was indeed a political realist, but her unshakable belief also in the "march of progress" clouded her ability to fully comprehend the formidable obstacles to women's enfranchisement. While a handful of women controlled the small periodicals discussed here, the mainstream press was often hostile to or bemused by, but only occasionally supportive of, women's suffrage. The movement's success required a fundamental change in public attitudes about women and their role in society, and these publishers were instrumental in keeping alive various aspects of the discourse that, over nearly a century, finally shifted public opinion.

The fourteen women treated here were middle class, educated, of European American heritage, and all commanded printing and publishing skills. All were keen to make an impact and would defy societal pressure to conform. Yet, for all their social and political commitment, their small activist newspapers devoted little space to day-to-day political issues in San Francisco. A survey of the content reveals instead that they were engaged in the larger issues of the era, and sales and circulation records of these periodicals point to a readership sympathetic to their goals and content. Through the medium of the press, these publishers demonstrated their belief that American women were entitled to a public role in society. Their commitment brought essential voices to that long process. CHS

See notes beginning on page 75.

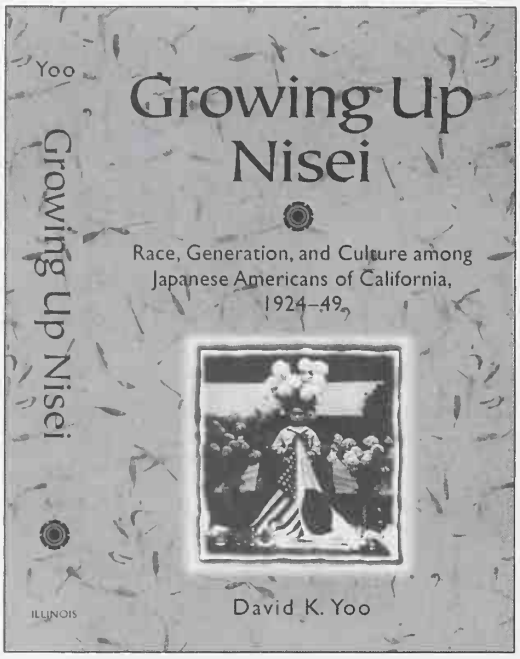
Anne M. Breedlove moved from upstate New York to the Bay Area in 1972. After graduating with honors from the University of California, Berkeley, she received the Master of Arts degree in history from San Francisco State University in 1998, and was honored with the Distinguished Graduate Student Award. She presented her master's research on nineteenth-century French newspaper publishers at the 1999 annual conference of the Western Association of Women Historians. She is now an adjunct instructor of U.S. and European history in the San Francisco Bay area.

Edited by James J. Rawls

Growing Up Nisei: Race, Generation, and Culture Among Japanese Americans of California, 1924–1949.

By David K. Yoo. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2000, xiii, 264 pp., $42.50 cloth, $17.95 paper.)

Reviewed by Lane R. Hirabayashi, *professor, Department of Ethnic Studies, University of Colorado, Boulder, and author of* The Politics of Fieldwork: Research in an American Concentration Camp.



Courtesy University of Illinois Press.

Historian David K. Yoo has wrought a lively and innovative portrait of California's Nisei, the second generation Japanese Americans. Treating the decades between the passage of the 1924 Immigration Act and the 1949 trial of Iva Toguri, Yoo's account is knit together by a careful examination of Nisei discourses on identity that occurred in and around key community institutions: ethnic schools, churches, and the vernacular press.

Culling quotes and biographical accounts from a wide range of primary sources, Yoo vividly illustrates how Nisei grappled with identity issues. Central to his account are the dynamics of intra-group variation among the Nisei generation, stemming from differing religious, political, and gender standpoints. Even so, it is clear that Nisei's opportunities were curtailed because they were phenotypically too distinct from Euro-Americans. In Yoo's account, the issue of "race" looms large over many dimensions of Nisei life before the war. Yoo demonstrates, however, that the relatively protected space of ethnic community organizations allowed the Nisei to respond creatively. In sum, before the war, the Nisei utilized ethnic schools, churches, and the vernacular press as sites in which they were able to discuss their situation. More importantly, the Nisei developed individual and collective responses to the prejudice and discrimination that curtailed their lives in America.

In a short chapter on the war years, Yoo traces processes of racial formation through mass incarceration. Again, his focus is on education in the camps as well as religious life. Then, in one of the most interesting chapters, "Insiders on the Outside," Yoo focuses on Nisei journalists Larry and Guyo Tajiri, and James Omura, and their analyses of the crises of the 1940s. Yoo's careful reading of editorial commentaries reveals, again, that the Nisei journalists played an active role in the generational task of conceptualizing and negotiating their identity as Americans of Japanese ancestry.

Through an analysis of the extended life histories collected in Chicago by the late Charles Kikuchi for the Japanese American Evacuation and Resettlement Study, Yoo traces the Nisei's resettlement back into the larger society during the 1940s. Yoo is able to draw from these interviews in a creative yet systematic fashion in order to document Nisei's diverse and sometimes oppositional views in regard to race relations, identity, and democracy. In an epilogue re-examining the infamous "Tokyo Rose" trial of 1949, Yoo proposes that the post-war trajectory of the Nisei was still impacted by popular suspicions concerning their loyalty, even after the camps had been closed.

Growing Up Nisei effectively demonstrates that, despite the constraints they faced, Nisei developed strategies that would win them greater acceptance and equality within the larger society. Yoo also shows how and why community institutions were key resources in the process of identity formation for many Nisei, both before and immediately after the war.

CHS

Books sent to *California History* for review that are not reviewed, but pertain to the collection, are catalogued in the California Historical Society library.

Maritime Solidarity: Pacific Coast Unionism, 1929–1938.

By Ottilie Markholt. (Tacoma, Washington: Pacific Coast Maritime History Committee, 1998, 461 pp., $19.95 paper.)

Reviewed by Harvey Schwartz, *author of* The March Inland: Origins of the ILWU Warehouse Division, 1934–1938, *curator of the International Longshore and Warehouse Union Oral History Collection, and oral historian, Labor Archives and Research Center, San Francisco State University.*

Maritime Solidarity was published by a Tacoma, Washington, labor studies group, the Pacific Coast Maritime History Committee. Markholt and the committee are to be congratulated for taking on this ambitious project. There is much to be admired in this hefty volume. The port-by-port detail on longshore workers and seafarers and their union movements in California, Oregon, and Washington is nearly encyclopedic. The compilation of so much information in one place should make the book a useful reference tool for years.

Markholt reviews the miserable working conditions—the production speed-ups, the unsafe gear, the wage cuts, the 12-hour shifts, the discriminatory hiring, the forced kickbacks, the blacklisting—that characterized marine employment during the nonunion 1920s and early 1930s. She leaves no doubt why workers backed the great coastwide maritime strike of 1934. Markholt also touches upon overlooked aspects of African American and Asian marine labor history in the nonunion era. Finally, *Maritime Solidarity* features numerous illustrations—contemporary photographs, cartoons, typed bulletins, and broadsides—that capture the vibrancy of the marine workers' union movement in the 1930s.

There are, however, some warning signs that should be heeded in approaching Markholt's treatment of the 1934 West Coast maritime strike and the unionists' valiant but ultimately unsuccessful 1935 effort to institutionalize their '34 strike solidarity by creating a Maritime Federation of the Pacific (MFP). Although *Maritime Solidarity* is presented with all the traditional academic apparatus, it is written from the point of view of a participant with a very specific interpretation of the historical events rather than from the standpoint of a detached, objective scholar.

In the mid-1930s Markholt was a poor college student living in Seattle. Anguished over the brutal impact of the Great Depression on the lives of working people, she became a member of the American Communist Party during 1935–1936. Soon disillusioned with the party leadership's insistence on unquestioning obedience, she briefly considered other left organizations but soon found her niche as a loyal American Federation of Labor trade unionist and staunch anti-Communist. She devoted her life to trade union activity in Tacoma and, from 1939 on, intermittently worked on the long-term history project that became *Maritime Solidarity.*

The reasons for the breakdown of marine worker unity embodied in the MFP were many and complex. Serious differences separated the two key unions, the longshore workers and the sailors, and finally doomed the federation. Tension developed by 1936 over craft loyalty, work jurisdiction, strike tactics, contract renewal policy, and even personal ambition. The best analysis of the rise and fall of the MFP is still to be found in Bruce Nelson's prize-winning *Workers on the Waterfront* (1988).

Markholt draws heavily upon an impressive array of contemporary sources, including several unique items in her personal collection. However, instead of scrutinizing all the historical evidence with dispassion, she simply attributes the breakdown of the MFP to "the Communists."

Markholt labels the longshore leader Harry Bridges, his union, and even the Congress of Industrial Organizations as part of a "Communist bloc," guilty at every turn of disrupting the maritime workers' legitimate aspirations to solidarity, as personified by Harry Lundeberg of the Sailors' Union of the Pacific (SUP). The reduction of complex historical events to a morality tale and the employment of labels instead of analysis ultimately characterize this volume as more historical memoir than scholarly treatise.

Sometimes Markholt views the past through the selective filter of her preconceptions. For example, she reduces Harry Bridges's 1934 strike role to that of a shadowy Communist outsider. Barely mentioned, for example, is Bridges's famous speech at a crucial Teamster's Union meeting that won the drivers' support for the San Francisco general strike of July 1934 following the police-killing of two waterfront workers.

Rather than show Bridges as a charismatic rank-and-file leader—even the owner representative Paul Eliel characterized him as such in a book penned shortly after the '34 strike—Markholt suppresses his historic contributions. Bridges was an independent-minded prime mover in 1934, with a tremendous following on the waterfront. In 1935 he was not a "Communist bloc" henchman, but a successful consensus builder who did much to establish the MFP as a broad-based confederation composed of several diverse marine labor organizations. Unfortunately, you will not learn these things from reading *Maritime Solidarity.*

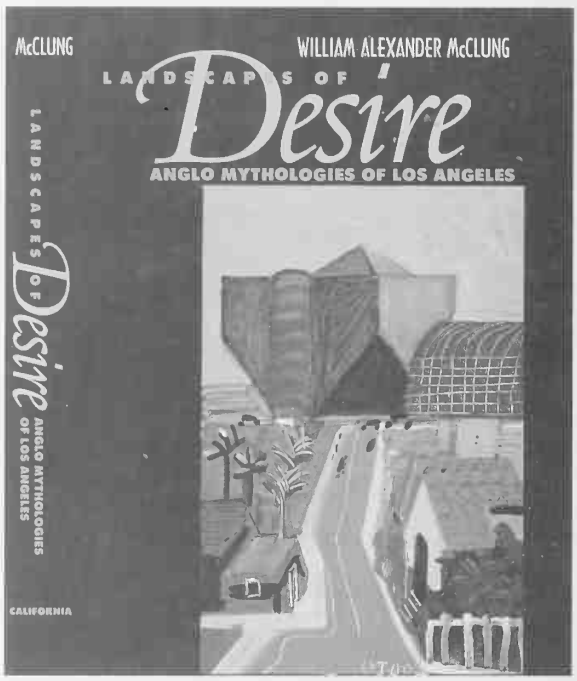
Markholt's anti-Communist bias leads her to rationalize one of the era's most embarrassing episodes. In 1937 Harry Lundeberg and his fellow SUP officers burned their union members' referendum ballots on possible affiliation with the new CIO, which then enjoyed a militant reputation among workers for successfully challenging the limited craft orientation of the AFL by organizing thousands of people in America's mass production industries.

SUP officials knew the referendum count would probably favor the CIO, an outcome that would counter Lundeberg's

goals at that moment. Markholt strongly implies that, since the ballot burning seemed to stop Bridges, the longshore union, and the CIO—in her view, the "Communist bloc"—from increasing their influence, the SUP leadership's action was justified. Thus Lundeberg, who ultimately stifled union democracy in the SUP to a degree unimaginable to a democratic leader like Bridges, remains an unimpeachable figure in Markholt's mind.

In fact, it was Lundeberg's SUP that pulled out of the MFP and sealed its doom in 1938. By then it was clear to Lundeberg that he was in a minority position within the federation. Markholt does not question Lundeberg here either, since, in her view, by 1938 the "Communist bloc" appeared to hold sway in what soon became a rump MFP. (For the record, the federation itself, the institution that once seemed to embody the dream of maritime union solidarity on the broadest scale, was quietly laid to rest three years later.)

This is not to argue that there were not mistakes on the part of the longshore unionists as well. One of the earliest rifts in the Federation's united front came in September 1935, when the longshore workers voted to independently renew their 1934 strike arbitration award without considering the interests of the SUP. (Bridges protested his membership's decision, but, as a supporter of union democracy, he adhered to it.) The vote had a good deal to do with self-interest, but nothing to do with Communism. To truly understand this complex, critical era in California and West Coast labor history, it is imperative to go beyond the name calling and blind allegiances of the era itself. Although Markholt does not do this, she is still to be thanked for centralizing a vast array of useful information and accompanying graphics in *Maritime Solidarity*. I know her volume will remain on my shelf as a valuable resource for a long time to come. CHS



Courtesy University of California Press.

Landscapes of Desire: Anglo Mythologies of Los Angeles.

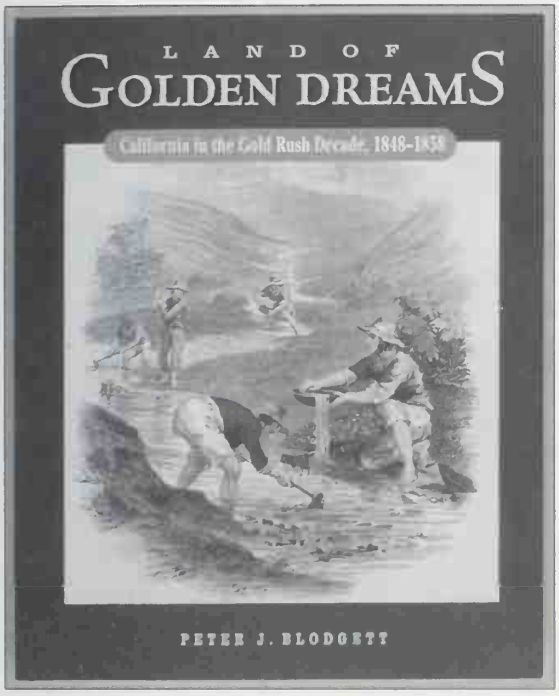
By William Alexander McClung. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000, xvii, 277 pp., $35.00 cloth.)

Reviewed by Douglas Monroy, *professor of history at The Colorado College and author of* Thrown among Strangers: The Making of Mexican Culture in Frontier California *and* Rebirth: Mexican Los Angeles from the Great Migration to the Great Depression.

Whether or not a book enables us to see its subject in new ways provides my main criteria for judging a work good, bad, or mediocre: this is an excellent book. More than that, though, it is mellifluously worded, conscientiously thought out, and expresses the author's affection—dare I say his "desire"—for the usually reviled city of my birth, Los Angeles. *Landscapes of Desire* will prompt comparison with Mike Davis's two recent books, *City of Quartz* and *The Ecology of Fear*, both of which excoriate the unfolding of the city's history and economic development, and which McClung artfully engages.

Readers will better understand the ongoing berating of the City of the Angels when they journey with McClung through "Anglophone Los Angeles [as it] sought to reconcile two contradictory visions of ideal place and space: an acquired Arcadia, a found natural paradise; and an invented Utopia, an empty space inviting development" (xvi). It seems to me that the inevitable wreckage that prevailed when greedy capitalists sought to transform the (dubiously) Arcadian place into a (fraudulent) Utopia is what makes L.A. a place of fear and loathing for Davis. McClung knows that to "interfere with a found or given natural paradise is to introduce an element of dissatisfaction" (p.12) much as one will ultimately regret efforts to transform an unspoiled lover.

Too often authors simply "read texts" to display their erudi-



Courtesy Huntington Library Press

tion or cleverness. McClung does so to reveal how people have imagined Los Angeles, what they desire that the city might be. McClung ranges smoothly and engagingly from novelists including William Faulkner, to citrus crate labels, tourist and booster brochures, to artists David Hockney and Edward Ruscha, to architecture of L.A., including everything from Cal Tech to Disneyland, stucco bungalows, Forest Lawn, and the creations of Frank Lloyd Wright. In each case readers gain not only new insights into intellectual and artistic figures and the iconic cultural artifacts of Los Angeles , but how "in that familiar gambit of reduction and expansion by which *amateurs* of California, in the literal sense of the word, *lovers*, refine the found landscape into the image of their desire" (p.173–75), however diverse and contradictory those efforts might be.

Readers will savor the illustrations and the interaction between them and the text. Desire is, of course, in large part "about looking," and I would encourage both *amateurs* and those who would berate the city to engage this book and then to see, to think about, and even to desire, Los Angeles in new ways. CHS

A Year of Mud and Gold: San Francisco in Letters and Diaries, 1849–1850.

Edited by William Benemann. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999, xxiv, 241 pp., $29.95 cloth.)

Land of Golden Dreams: California in the Gold Rush Decade, 1848–1858.

By Peter J. Blodgett. (San Marino: Huntington Library Press, 1999, 147 pp., $20.95 cloth, $14.95 paper.)

Gold: The California Story.

By Mary Hill. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000, xi, 317 pp., $45.00 cloth.)

Reviewed by Ronald H. Limbaugh, *retired Rockwell Hunt Professor of California History at the University of the Pacific, director of the John Muir Center for Regional Studies, and executive director of the Conference for California Historical Societies.*

California's Gold Rush sesquicentennial has spawned a publishing bonanza. Since 1998 more than thirty-four books with "California" and "gold" in their titles have been catalogued by the Library of Congress, and the list continues to grow. The diversity of available literature is splendidly revealed in these three volumes, each written with different objectives but with the same general audience in mind. *A Year of Mud and Gold* is an anthology of contemporary observations on life in San Francisco during the Gold Rush, compiled by a librarian from documentary resources in the Bancroft Library. *Land of Golden Dreams* is an exhibit catalog as well as an illustrated history of the gold-rush era, crafted by the curator of Western Americana at the Huntington Library. *Gold: The California Story* is both geology and history, written by a geologist long associated with the publications program of the State Bureau of Mines and Geology.

As might be expected, diversity produces different strengths and weaknesses. *A Year of Mud and Gold* is a revealing and sometimes sordid glimpse into San Francisco's formative years, where semi-literate farmers and rich gentry were thrown together in common confusion. Wide-eyed newcomers found it "unlike any other place in creation . . ." but the sense of wonder faded quickly in the scramble to survive and earn a living.

Organized topically, each chapter begins with a well-written introduction that provides historical context and narrative continuity. The result is a well-organized and highly descriptive narrative, a collective view of life in turbulent times. Though drawn from more than forty-five Bancroft manuscript collec-

tions, the narrative range is limited by practical demographic and social constraints. Poor and minority voices are notoriously underrepresented in American documentary collections and they are almost entirely absent from *A Year of Mud and Gold,* which is largely confined to the writings of middle- and upper-middle-class white easterners. Although women in this narrative have servants, they complain mightily of their high wages.

Broader in focus and more inclusive is *Land of Golden Dreams.* For anyone desiring a substantive but not detailed social history of the gold-rush era, this is an ideal introduction. Geared to the general reader, the book combines narrative substance with exceptional graphics. Copiously illustrated with full-color photos, lithographs, manuscript letters, lettersheets, broadsides, and maps, the integrated narrative allows the reader to shift easily from text to captions without losing continuity. Though ponderous at times, the text incorporates modern multicultural perspectives, documenting the plight of minorities in early California with an effective combination of quotes and pictures. One or two sweeping generalizations might well have been omitted. For instance, claiming that the "mining experience" had an "essentially rural character" is a misconception contradicted by almost every narrative of the mining industry from firsthand observers such as Dame Shirley to contemporary mining scholars including Duane Smith.

Gold: The California Story is a polished, popular narrative, not meant for scholars although they will appreciate the literary craftsmanship that went into the text. More geology than history, the book is a combination of fact and lore, an assemblage of anecdotes rather than a chronological narrative. The author traces the geologic origin of gold from within the earth's magma to its dispersion and tells of the perennial efforts to find and exploit it. She follows the legends from the first discoveries to the gold-rush shipwrecks and on to the high-tech salvage operations of the previous two decades. By telling stories, and by eliminating technical jargon, the result is an engaging narrative.

Details are cut away to get to the guts of a good story. For example, the author spends a lot of time describing John Sutter's moral failures but says almost nothing substantive about mill operator James Marshall, legendary gold discoverer. The text recounts the Manley party's struggle in Death Valley without once mentioning names or dates. Occasionally she engages in flights of rhetorical fancy. Overlooking Studebaker's wagon and carriage-making years, she says he began as a wheel barrel maker but "near the turn of the century, changed from one wheel to four" to make autos. Though not a social history, the narrative explores modern social themes without breaking new ground or benefiting from the latest revisionist interpretations. Using conventional sources, the author is unsparing in her criticism of officials and settlers who cheated, kidnapped, raped, sold, enslaved, and slaughtered Native Americans during the Gold Rush. Chinese also are mentioned, but in stereotypical terms as humble, hardworking, and long-suffering victims who were "disdained" by whites. Dubious is her conclusion that "there is almost no grain of truth in the Joaquin [Murieta] story . . ." She should have consulted more specialized sources as well as contemporary newspapers.

Land of Golden Dreams also sometimes goes too far in the effort to avoid technical jargon. The author's description of stamp rods and shoes as "metal posts" is more misleading than edifying. An explanation of the flotation process is so confusing that a novice would think specific gravity rather than molecular chemistry is the main separating agent, and that gold sulfides sink in flotation, rather than float to the top in froth. The technology of hydraulic mining, too, is grossly oversimplified. The progression from canvas hose and nozzle to iron pipe and monitor was a slow evolution, rather than a sudden change as the text implies. Finally, use of the term "no-see-um" gold to describe micron-size particles reduces the text to children's reading.

The market for good gold-rush narratives has never been better, and these three books, despite some flaws, collectively provide a comprehensive view that will educate as well as entertain. CHS

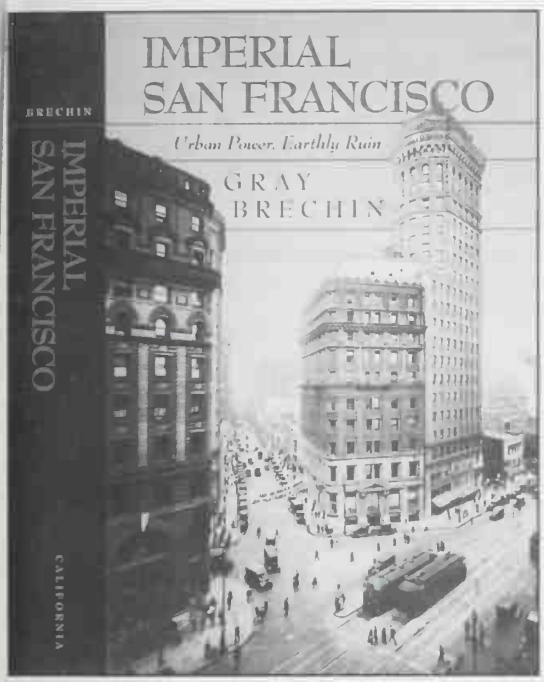
Imperial San Francisco: Urban Power, Earthy Ruin.

By Gray Brechin. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999, xxvi, 402 pp., $29.95 cloth, $17.95 paper.)

Reviewed by William Issel, *professor of history at San Francisco State University, author of* Social Change in the United States, 1945–1983, *and (with Robert W. Cherny) co-author of* San Francisco, 1865–1932: Politics, Power, and Urban Development.

This impassioned jeremiad revisits familiar personalities and events in San Francisco history in order to conduct a moral critique of the city-building activities of socially prominent members of San Francisco's business and cultural leadership class from the Gold Rush to the Cold War. Brechin and co-author Robert Dawson have catalogued, in text and photographs, various deleterious consequences to the environment created by more than a century of agricultural, industrial, and urban development of California. Here, he employs the anti-urban sensibility and impressionistic methodology of the late social critic Lewis Mumford in a work of muckraking historical biography.

Brechin's purpose, following in the tradition of humanist criticism associated with Mumford and Jane Jacobs, is to uncover "the pathological tendencies" of America's "cancerous" cities (p. xxii). He presents a series of insider stories highlighting the social networking, private deal-making, and public activities of San Francisco's "urban aristocracy." Brechin interprets the activities



Courtesy University of California Press

of the city's "linked dynastic elites" as engaged in nefarious work destructive to the natural environment, work made possible by their control of "the Pyramid of Mining," a concept borrowed from Mumford (p. xxiii). Though "invisible," the Pyramid of Mining includes "mechanization, metallurgy, militarism, and moneymaking (or finance) and [its] apex is mining" (p. 19). This unseen structure produces the wealth and power which enables "a small cadre of select families" who "through their control of information . . . create the unifying beliefs and blindnesses that motivate truly imperial cities and, in more recent times, the nations that are their secured contados [hinterlands]" (p. xxiii).

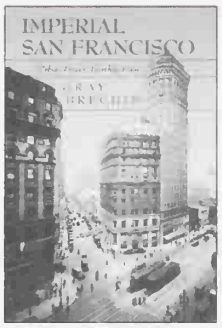
Imperial San Francisco's central proposition is supported by anecdote and assertion rather than by the systematic assessment of positive evidence and the elimination of counterveiling explanations. In the author's view, a grasping plutocracy seized the reins of power in San Francisco and then operated an infernal earth-destroying urban behemoth by "remote control." However, the book lacks the kind of objective analysis of the social costs and benefits attributable to the urban development of San Francisco that would be necessary to create such a balance sheet. In perhaps the most fanciful application of this thesis, in Part III Brechin relies on the "remote control" metaphor to assert that San Francisco's sins of "earthly" ruin should include even the obliteration of the city of Hiroshima by atomic bomb on August 6, 1945.

The book is curiously old-fashioned. Its omission of the roles played by working-class and middle-class residents in the making of a major city revives the discredited notion that conflicts and contests over social and political power have been absent in American history. Reading this book, one might imagine that the "new social history" of the past thirty years, with its recovery of evidence about the myriad ways in which non-elite Americans have shaped the character of the United States, had never happened.

Brechin's book also lacks originality. Previous historians (full disclosure requires that this writer be counted among them) have described in detail the city-building activities of an ambitious business and social elite in San Francisco during the period covered by this book. However, Brechin exaggerates their prescience, their unity as a class, their ability to shape public opinion, and their degree of control over urban development. His book is suffused with sympathy for the "splendid earth" (p. xix), but bereft of appreciation for working-class and middle-class city dwellers. Their intelligence and self-determination, their material and emotional priorities, and the role they played in decisions regarding urban development have been the subject of a substantial literature produced during the past two decades. "Ordinary" residents continually challenged the economic power and the political legitimacy of wealthy business and social leaders in American cities. The evidence from San Francisco demonstrates the degree to which contests over land use and urban development priorities played an important role in the city-building process. Brechin, however, in a flagrant display of condescension, regards those outside his plutocratic elite as merely "human bodies driven by carefully inculcated belief systems" (p. 19).

A brief review cannot do justice to this book, which benefits from the author's gifted style, his revitalization of Lewis Mumford's legacy, his creative, albeit impressionistic, use of archival materials, and his lively, albeit tendentious, retelling of a large number of quintessentially San Francisco stories. There are eighty-four illustrations, twenty-eight pages of notes, useful maps, and a bibliography. CHS

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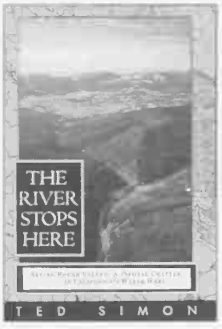
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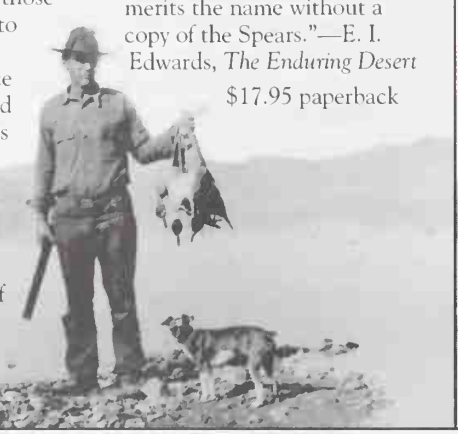
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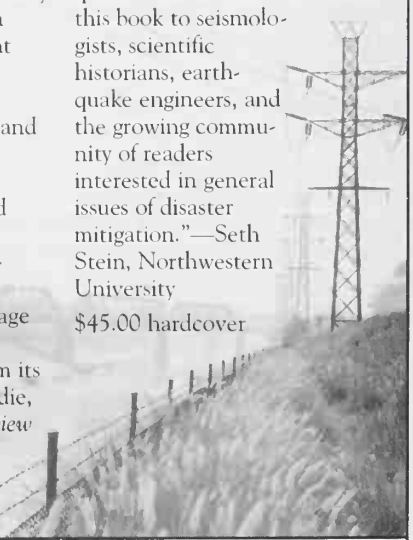
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Boessenecker, John. *Gold Dust & Gun Smoke: Tales of Gold Rush Outlaws, Gunfighters, Lawmen and Vigilantes*. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 2000. $30.00 (paper) ISBN: 0-471-31973-2; $16.95 (paper) ISBN: 0-471-39018-6. Order from: John Wiley & Sons; 1 Wiley Drive; Somerset, NJ 08875-1272.

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thirds of a century since its passage." $44.95 (cloth) ISBN: 0-87417-345-0. Order from: University of Nevada Press; Mail Stop 166; Reno, NV 89557-0076.

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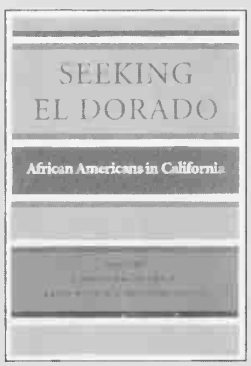
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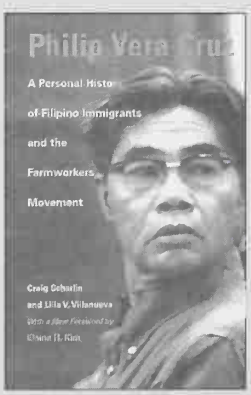
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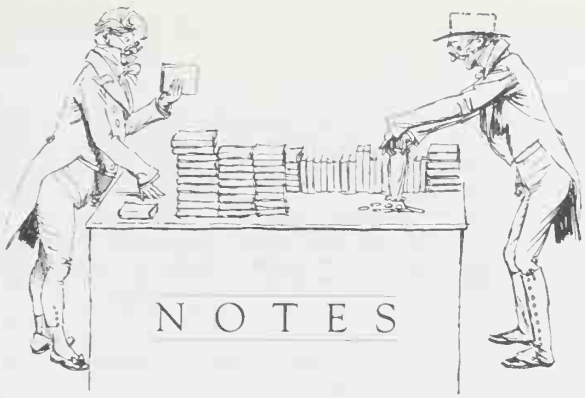
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NOTES

Moreno, "Here the Society is United," pp. 2–17.

1. This article is derived from the author's 1992 M.A. thesis, "Some Hybrid Like Myself': California's Multicultural Children, 1825–1925" (California State University, Sacramento; also available at the California State Library in Sacramento). For the purpose of this study, "intercultural" marriage refers specifically to the California marriages of Hispanic women to non-Hispanic European or American men. My thanks to Dr. Kenneth Owens, Dr. Sally Wagner, Jim Cassio, Desiree Hankinson and Regina Jimenez for their editorial contributions and insistence that portions of this thesis be submitted for publication.
2. George M. Frederickson, *White Supremacy: A Comparative Study in American and South African History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981), 6–7.
3. See Thomas Workman Temple III, "Alphabetical Listing of the California Mission Vital Records" n.d., typewritten document [microfilm], Family History Center, Sacramento, California. This list contains 714 marriages recorded from 1822 to 1846; at least 105 of them were intercultural as defined for the purpose of this study. The largest proportion (31 percent) of foreign husbands was American, followed by 24 percent born in England. These numbers do not include additional intercultural marriages that apparently took place in Mexican California outside of the mission system. For a list of intercultural marriages in the California Mission Vital Records that is supplemented by some of the additional intercultural marriages indicated in Hubert Howe Bancroft's *Pioneer Register*, refer to Appendix A of the author's M.A. thesis.
4. Late-nineteenth and early-twentieth-century California county histories are full of references to intercultural couples and their children who migrated to California, and who are thus not included in the California mission marriage statistics. These county histories identify many California residents born to non-Hispanic European or American traders who married Hispanic women elsewhere in Latin America.
5. Sir George Simpson, *Narrative of a Journey round the World during the years 1841 and 1842*, quoted in Hubert Howe Bancroft, History of California, Vol. 4 (San Francisco: The History Company, 1886), 220–22.
6. James J. Rawls and Walton Bean, *California: An Interpretive History*, Sixth Edition (McGraw-Hill, Inc., 1993), 55.
7. Bancroft, *History of California*, Vol. 4, 115-17.
8. David Hornbeck, "California Rancheros and the Unlanded—Who Lived in Arcadia?", *Early California Reflections* (San Juan Capistrano, California: Bellerophon Books, 1986), [24] (the pages are not numbered).
9. See Thomas Workman Temple III, "Alphabetical Listing of the California Mission Vital Records." Marriage records of traders and Californianas were customarily recorded in the missions where weddings took place. For more on Hartnell, see Susana Bryant Dakin's *The Lives of William Hartnell* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1949).
10. Hubert Howe Bancroft, *Register of Pioneer Inhabitants of California, 1542 to 1848* (reprint of index from *History of California*, San Francisco 1885-86; Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop, 1964), see entries on William Alexander Leidesdorff, James Peace, and Luis Pombert. James Peace (designated Santiago Paz) was one of two non-Hispanic European or American traders whose Mexican-period marriage was recorded in Thomas Workman Temple III, "Alphabetical Listing of the California Mission Vital Records" (see note 3). The absence of a designated bridal surname in the record indicates that Maria Guadalupe was a neophyte.
11. William Heath Davis, *Seventy-five Years in California*, ed. Harold A. Small (1889; reprint, San Francisco: John Howell Books, 1967), 95; Andrew F. Rolle, *An American in California: The Biography of William Heath Davis, 1822–1909* (San Marino: Henry E. Huntington Library, 1956), 4–7, 118.
12. Excerpts from San Carlos Church records, Monterey *Marriages*, Vol. 1, in "Edward Bale with María Ignacia Soberánes," *Academic Scrapbook*, July 1951 (Academy of California Church History, P.O. Box 1668, Fresno, California), 50.
13. J. M. Guinn, *History of the State of California and Biographical Record of Oakland and Environs*, Vol. 1 (Los Angeles: Historic Record Company, 1907), 425–26; "La Familia de Juan Crisostomo Galindo," comp. Lydia M. Weis, Bartolome T. Sepulveda, Roger Rehm and Rudecinda Lo Buglio, *Antepasados*, Bicentennial Issue, ed. Rudecinda Lo Buglio (Los Californianos, 1977), 65–66; Diego Forbes and María Ana Galindo marriage, entry 2555, Mats I, Mission Santa Clara, California Mission Vital Records as recorded by Thomas Workman Temple III [?] [photocopy], Los Californianos private collection; Daughters of the American Revolution of California, "Family of James Alexander Forbes," *Records of the Families of California Pioneers*, Vol. 23 (Compiled under the Direction of The Genealogical Records Commitee, California State Society Daughters of the American Revolution, 1956): 90–92; *The Bay of San Francisco, the Metropolis of the Pacific Coast, and its Suburban Cities: A History* (Chicago: Lewis Publishing Company, 1892), 574; Eugene T. Sawyer, *History of Santa Clara County with Biographical Sketches* (Los Angeles: Historic Record Company, 1922), 878. Gerald McKevitt, *The University of Santa Clara: A History, 1851–1977* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1979), 40.
14. Reginald Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny: The Origins of American Racial Anglo-Saxonism* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981), 1-2, 6, 104-106. Horsman has documented that "by 1850 American expansion was viewed in the United States less as a victory for the principles of free democratic republicanism than as evidence of the innate superiority of the American Anglo-Saxon branch of the Caucasian race," destined to conquer or exterminate "inferior races" considered incapable of participating equally in the American form of government.
15. Ibid.
16. John L. O'Sullivan, Democratic politician and editor of the *Democratic Review*, quoted in Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny*, 219.
17. I use parentheses here and throughout to indicate the subject's mother's surname.
18. James H. Wilkins, "The Days of the Dons: Reminiscences of California's Oldest Native Son, Steve Richardson's Narrative, 1918," *San Francisco Bulletin*, [microfilm], Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, 25, 41, 66, 139, 186.
19. Mariana [Richardson] Torres, "Recollections of Mrs. Torres [?]" [photocopy], MS. Small Manuscript Collections, Box 980, California Section, California State Library, Sacramento, 6–7.
20. James Henry Gleason, Monterey, California,

to Frances A. Gleason, Plymouth, Massacusetts, 25 July 1846, 12 August 1847, in *Beloved Sister: The Letters of James Henry Gleason, 1841 to 1859, from Alta California and the Sandwich Islands*, comp. Duncan and Dorothy Gleason (Glendale: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1978), 125, 151.

21. Davis, *Seventy-five Years*, 95.
22. Douglas Monroy, *Thrown Among Strangers: The Making of Mexican Culture in Frontier California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 161. Monroy also noted that "many Anglo-Americans who arrived before 1846 did not condemn the California life-style they encountered but adopted aspects of it."
23. Ibid., 100, 116, 167–68, 261.
24. Davis, *Seventy-five Years*, 50.
25. Gloria B. Miranda, "Gente de Razón Marriage Patterns in Spanish and Mexican California: A Case Study of Santa Barbara and Los Angeles," *Southern California Quarterly* 63, no. 1 (Spring 1981: 8), quoted in Monroy, *Thrown Among Strangers*, 148.
26. For further discussion of the scarcity of records left by wives and daughters in Mexican California, see, for example, Joan M. Jensen and Gloria Ricci Lothrop, "Californianas," in *California Women: A History* (San Francisco: Boyd and Fraser, 1987), especially pp.10–16; and Antonia Castañeda, "Engendering the History of Alta California, 1769–1848: Gender, Sexuality, and the Family," in *Contested Eden: California Before the Gold Rush* (Berkeley and San Francisco: University of California Press and California Historical Society, 1997), especially pp. 242–59.
27. Torres, "Recollections," 9.
28. Wilkins, "Steve Richardson's Narrative," 25, 67.
29. James Alexander Forbes, Santa Clara, California, to Charles Forbes, [Los Angeles, California], autograph letter signed [photocopy], 27 October 1861, [?] September 1862, in James Alexander Forbes, "Letter Book of James Alexander Forbes, 1850–1879," Part 3 (copy in the California State Library of the original in the possession of Charles Tomkin, 1942), California Section, California State Library, Sacramento, 531–32, 588–89.
30. William H. Thomes, "On Land and Sea in 1843, '44, and '45," in *Gold Rush: A Literary Exploration*, ed. Michael Kowalewski (Berkeley: Heyday Books in conjunction with the California Council for the Humanities, 1997), 25.
31. James Diego Vigil, *From Indians To Chicanos: The Dynamics of Mexican American Culture* (Prospect Heights, Illinois: Waveland Press, 1980), 107.
32. Frank Watson, "Narrative of Frank Watson, 16 March 1875," ms. [microfilm], "Pioneer Sketches," Number 9, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, 139–45.
33. Wilkins, "Steve Richardson's Narrative," 69, 245-47. For Ignacio Sepulveda's similar distinction between Californios and "the other people of Mexico," see Lisbeth Haas, *Conquests and Historical Identities in California, 1769-1936* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 37.
34. Herbert E. Bolton quoted in Albert L. Hurtado, *Indian Survival On The California Frontier* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), 12.
35. Hurtado, *Indian Survival on the California Frontier*, 211. For further information regarding the "Mexican and Anglo" practice of kidnapping Indians for use as laborers and servants, see pages 57–58, 61–62, 89, 93–94, 99, and 159.
36. Wilkins, "Steve Richardson's Narrative," 24–25, 38–42, 46–49, 274–75; Torres, "Recollections," 4, 6–10. For significant analyses of this relationship, see Monroy, *Thrown Among Strangers*, pp. 126–140, and Rosaura Sánchez, *Telling Identities: The Californio Testimonios* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1995), chapter 4.
37. Henry Bulls Watson, *The Journals of Marine Second Lieutenant Henry Bulls Watson, 1845–48*, ed. Charles R. Smith (Washington, D.C.: History and Museums Division, Headquarters, U.S. Marine Corps, 1990), 121.
38. Author's interview with Helen B. Collins, great-granddaughter of María Susana or Mary Susan (Juarez) King, San Jose, California, 1991.
39. Davis, *Seventy-five Years*, 7–8, 55.
40. Thomes, "On Land and Sea," 22.
41. Davis, *Seventy-five Years*, 50.
42. Antonio María Osio, *The History of Alta California: A Memoir of Mexican California*, trans. and ed. Rose Marie Beebe and Robert M. Senkewicz (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1996), 70, 199.
43. *The Spanish West*, eds. Time-Life Books (New York: Time-Life Books, 1976), 188.
44. Wilkins, "Steve Richardson's Narrative," 75–78, 85.
45. David J. Weber, "The Spanish Legacy in North America and the Historical Imagination," *Western Historical Quarterly* 23, no. 1 (February 1992): 5.
46. Davis, *Seventy-five Years*, 11.
47. Author's interview with H. Patricia U'ren, great-granddaughter of María Josefina (Soberánes) Richardson, Novato, California, 1991; "Los Coches Rancho: Frémont's Troops, Stage Coach Passengers Found Monterey County Adobe a Haven," *PG &E Progress*, 8 (issue date unknown, copy obtained by H. Patricia U'ren from the Society of California Pioneers). Californians joined the American troops as well. For example, William Heath Davis recounted that Miguel Pedrorena, well-educated native of Spain and delegate to the California Constitutional Convention, and Santiaguito Argüello, nephew of a former California governor, volunteered to help Commodore Robert Stockton recapture Los Angeles. Davis recalled that "there were about one hundred Californians on Stockton's side when the conflict took place," Davis, *Seventy-five Years*, 193–94.
48. Dakin, *Hartnell*, 280–81.
49. Davis, *Seventy-five Years*, 66–67.
50. Edwin Bryant, Diary, in "Family Records, members of the Livermore family," quoted in Janet Newton, *Las Positas: The Story of Robert and Josefa Livermore* (Livermore, Calif.: Ralph and Janet Newton, 1969), 98–99.
51. Nellie Van de Grift Sánchez, *Spanish Arcadia* (San Francisco: Powell Publishing Company, 1929), 152.
52. James Henry Gleason, Monterey, California, to Frances A. Gleason, Plymouth, Massachusetts, 12 August 1847, in Gleason, *Beloved Sister*, 151.
53. Harris Newmark, *Sixty Years*, quoted in Leonard Pitt, *The Decline of the Californios: A Social History of the Spanish-Speaking Californians, 1846–1890* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966), 125.
54. Lisbeth Haas, *Conquests and Historical Identities in California, 1769–1936* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 77–80.
55. Tiburcio Vasquez quoted in Robert Greenwood, *The California Outlaw: Tiburcio Vasquez* (Los Gatos, Calif.: Talisman Press, 1960), 12.
56. George A. Beers, *San Francisco Chronicle*, quoted in Rodolfo Acuña, *Occupied America: A History of Chicanos*, 3d ed. (New York: HarperCollins, 1988), 125.
57. Angustias de la Guerra Ord, *Occurrences in Hispanic California*, ed. and trans. Francis Price and William H. Ellison (Washington, D.C.: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1956), 59. At age sixty-three, Ord believed that California had been "on the road to the most complete ruin" prior to the conquest because of the "differences" between northern and southern Californians, and "between both against the Mexicans and other bands." She also said the Indians had been "out of hand" and the government treasury was "looted" by too many soldiers, "the greater part [of whom] performed no more service than the figurehead of a ship."
58. Davis, *Seventy-five Years*, 45, 49–50.
59. Rosaura Sánchez, *Telling Identities*, 225–27.
60. Wilkins, "Steve Richardson's Narrative," 59.
61. "Mixed Race Americans Are Happy Finally to Make the Count," *San Francisco Chronicle*, March 30, 2001, http//www.sfgate.com; "Golden State Resettled," *Sacramento Bee*, April 29, 2001, L1. See also "14 per cent of state newborns multiracial; capital area leads trend," *Sacramento Bee*, January 21, 2000, A1. The Public Policy Institute of California recently released a study concluding that "children of parents belonging to more than one race or ethnicity now make up the third largest category of births in the state, behind Hispanics and non-Hispanic whites."According to the *Sacramento Bee*, Otis Scott, chairperson of the ethnic studies department at California State University, Sacramento, said that "the study's conclusions may not reflect a change in demographics but a shift in attitude: People now feel more comfortable describing themselves as members of various races than they did before." In fact, they were previously *required* to "check one box only."
62. Stephen (Martínez) Richardson, for example, clearly expressed this timely issue of a "bipolar" or "hybrid" identity and perspective when he observed in 1918 that "only some hybrid like myself could sum up" the history of his 19th century California homeland "with any degree of fairness [because] I am equally proud of my Richardson blood

and of my Martinez blood. I would count it as a most shameful thing to do injustice to the one as to the other." Wilkins, "Steve Richardson's Narrative," 275.

Lyman, "Larger Than Texas" pp. 18–33.

1. Holman Hamilton, *Prologue to Conflict: The Crisis and Compromise of 1850* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1964), 20; Robert W. Johannsen, *Stephen A. Douglas* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973), 267; Jack Bauer, *Zachary Taylor: Soldier, Planter, Statesman of the Old Southwest* (Louisiana State University Press: Baton Rouge, 1985), 295; Orson F. Whitney, *History of Utah* vol. I, (Salt Lake City, Utah: George Q. Cannon and Sons Co, 1892), 407–10; Theodore H. Hittell, *History of California* 4 vols., II (San Francisco: N. J. Stone and Co., 1898), pp. 802–803; Hubert H. Bancroft, *Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft* XXIII, *History of California* IV (San Francisco: The History Company, 1888), 296–98.
2. Daniel Tyler, *A Concise History of the Mormon Battalion in the Mexican War* (1881; Glorieta, New Mexico: Rio Grande Press, 1969), 254–55, Norma Baldwin Rickets, *The Mormon Battalion: U.S. Army of the West, 1846–1848* (Logan, Utah: Utah State University Press, 1996), 134, 140–41.
3. Neal Harlow, *California Conquered: The Annexation of a Mexican Province, 1846–1850* Berkeley: University of California Press: 1982, paperback, 1989), 280–84, 293, 304, 308.
4. Frank Alfred Golder, ed., *The March of the Mormon Battalion from Council Bluffs to California, Taken From the Journal of Henry Standage* (The Century Company: New York, 1928), 250–52.
5. Harlow, *California Conquered*, pp. 308–313.
6. Lt. W. T. Sherman to [Col. J. D. Stevenson], January 25, 1848; Brigham Young to Jefferson Hunt and the Mormon Battalion, August 7, 1847, both in Golder, *Mormon Battalion*, 254–55, 260–61.
7. Golder, *Mormon Battalion*, 265–70.
8. Ibid., Letters of Colonel J. D. Stevenson to President Brigham Young, February 8, 1848; Isaac Williams to President Brigham Young, February 15, 1848; Captain Jesse D. Hunter to President Brigham Young, February 20, 1848; 265–272.
9. Eugene E. Campbell, *Establishing Zion: The Mormon Church in the American West, 1847–1869* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Signature Books, 1988), 42, 73–74, citing letters Parley P. Pratt to Isaac Rogers, September 6, 1845; Brigham Young to Samuel Brannan, September 15, 1845 and John Taylor Journal, July 1, 1846.
10. Leonard J. Arrington and Davis Bitton, *The Mormon Experience: A History of the Latter-day Saints* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1979), 113.
11. Joseph Smith, Jr., trans., *The Book of Mormon: An Account Written by the Hand of Mormon* (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Chirst of Latter-day Saints, 1979), 480. The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints is mainly led by a First Presidency, usually a president and two counselors and a quorum of twelve apostles.
12. Arrington and Bitton, *Mormon Experience*, 163; Dale L. Morgan, "The State of Deseret," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 8 (April–October, 1940); Dale L. Morgan, *The State of Deseret* (Logan, Ut.: Utah State University Press, 1987), 29–66.
13. Frederic A. Culmer, "'General' John Wilson, Signer of the Deseret Petition: Including Letters from the Leonard Collection," *California Historical Society Quarterly* vol. XXVI (December 1947): 321–26.
14. John Wilson to Col. Bliss, August 12, 1849, Zachary Taylor Papers, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.
15. Elbert B. Smith, *The Presidencies of Zachary Taylor & Millard Fillmore* (University Press of Kansas: Lawrence, Kansas, 1988), pp. 94, 103; Holman Hamilton, *Prologue to Conflict: The Crisis and Compromise of 1850*, 17.
16. Brigham Young to Amasa M. Lyman, September 6, 1849, in *Journal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, Historical Department of the Church, Salt Lake City, Utah.
17. Young to Lyman, September 6, 1849.
18. Ibid.
19. *Alta California* (San Francisco), December 15, 1849; Culmer, "General" John Wilson, 317–19.
20. *Alta California*, September 20, 1849; J. Ross Browne, *Report of the Debates in the Convention of California on the Formation of the State Constitution in September and October, 1849* (Washington, D. C.: John T. Towers, 1850), 446, was apparently Carrillo's denial that he still opposed a united state.
21. James J. Rawls and Walton Bean, *California: An Interpretive History* 7th ed. (Boston: McGraw-Hill, 1998), 108.
22. *Alta California*, October 1, 1849.
23. Browne, *Debates*, 443–49.
24. Theodore H. Hittell, *History of California*, vol. II, pp. 802–803; Bancroft, *History of California* IV, 325–26.
25. Hittell, *History of California*, II, pp. 804–805; Journals of the 1st Session of the Senate of the State of California, 129, 429–451; Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of California, 1st Session, 766–771; *Alta California*, December 15, 1849, February 9, 1850.
26. Whitney, *History of Utah*, I, pp. 407–410.
27. *Journal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 1830–1972; March 15, 21, 1850 (Salt Lake City, Ut : Historical Department of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1906).
28. *Journal History*, March 21, 25, 27, 1850.
29. *Journal History*, October 2, 1850.

Christman, "To Have and To Hold," pp. 34–47.

1. "Woman's Club and Annexation," undated news clipping (probably October 21, 1906) in the San Pedro Woman's Club scrapbooks, San Pedro Bay Historical Society (hereinafter SPBHS).
2. Oliver Vickery, *Harbor Heritage: Tales of the Harbor Area of Los Angeles, California* (n.p.: Authors Book Company Publication, 1979), 143.
3. Richard Bigger and James D. Kitchen, *How the Cities Grew: A Century of Municipal Independence and Expansionism in Metropolitan Los Angeles* (Los Angeles: The Haynes Foundation, 1952), 163; J. M. Guinn, "How the Area of Los Angeles was Enlarged," *Annual Publication of the Historical Society of Southern California* 9 (1912–1914): 173–80.
4. "Woman's Club and Annexation." SPBHS.
5. Long-time resident Harris Newmark recalled that during the 1850s, stagecoach companies actually competed to see which could move passengers out of the harbor area and into Los Angeles most quickly. After the arrival of the railroad in 1882 San Pedro was spared this open indignity, but the improvements in transportation assured that a trip to the small seatront community did not mean a long-term absence from Los Angeles itself. See Harris Newmark, *Sixty Years in Southern California* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1930), 24.
6. For the harbor fight see Robert Fogelson, *The Fragmented Metropolis: Los Angeles, 1850–1930* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1967), Chapter 6; and William F. Deverell, "The Los Angeles 'Free Harbor Fight'," *California History* 70 (Spring 1991): 12–29. For a fictionalized account of the harbor fight that used many of the same marriage metaphors as the annexation campaign, see John Bayard Campbell, *Rose of Los Angeles: The Love Story of a City* (Los Angeles: Tribune Press, 1929).
7. Carey McWilliams, *Southern California, An Island on the Land* (1946; Salt Lake City: Peregrine Smith Books, 1994), 130–33.
8. Henry P. Silka, *San Pedro: A Pictorial History* (San Pedro: San Pedro Bay Historical Society, 1984), 39–40. Quotes from Louis Adamic, *Laughing at the Jungle, The Autobiography of an Immigrant in America* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1932), 272.
9. "San Pedro, Gateway to the Orient," *Los Angeles Times*, July 1903, quoted in John M. Houston, *The San Pedro City Dream* (San Pedro: San Pedro Historical Publications, 1988), 133–34.
10. "Pioneer Day Speeches: Recollections of Mrs. F. S. Nichols," *San Pedro Daily News Pilot*, April 18, 1914, clipping in the San Pedro Woman's Club scrapbooks. To be fair, the city did try to clean out Happy Valley in 1903, arresting notorious prostitutes and gamblers. The results were short-lived, however, and the area soon regained its unsavory reputation. See Houston, *San Pedro City Dream*, passim.
11. Gilman Ostrander, *The Prohibition Movement in California, 1848–1933* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1957); W. W. Robinson, *Tarnished Angels: Paradisiacal Turpitude in Los Angeles* (Los Angeles: Ward Ritchie Press, 1964), 13–21; J. G. Woods, "The Progressives and the Police" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1973); Gerald Woods, "A Penchant

for Probity: California Progressives and the Disreputable Pleasures" in *California Progressivism Revisited*, ed. William Deverell and Tom Sitton (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1994): 99–116.

12. Don A. Shotliff, "San Pedro Harbor, or Los Angeles Harbor? Senator W. H. Savage and the Home Rule Advocates Fail to Stem the Tide of Consolidationism, 1906–1909" *Southern California Quarterly* 54 (Summer 1972): 127–54.
13. "Agitation for a Greater City," *San Pedro Daily News*, February 8, 1906, 1.
14. San Pedro Woman's Club Minutes (hereinafter SPWCM), March 7, 1906, SPBHS.
15. "Women and Progress," *San Pedro Daily News*, February 19, 1906, 2.
16. SPWCM, March 7, 1906.
17. SPWCM, May 6, 1906; *San Pedro City Directory, 1906* (San Pedro: San Pedro Directory Company, 1906).
18. In November of 1905 the WCTU submitted a request to the city for a similar fountain. The request was forwarded to the City Engineer's office and was never revisited again. Houston, *San Pedro City Dream*, 160.
19. *San Pedro Daily News*, May 16, 1906, 3; and June 2, 1906, 1.
20. San Pedro Board of Trustees Minutes (hereinafter SPBTM), July 17, 1906, Archives of the City of Los Angeles.
21. "Woman's Club and Annexation,"see note 1.
22. SPBTM, January 10, 1907.
23. SPBTM, August 7, 1906; *San Pedro Daily News*, August 15, 1906, 1.
24. This despite the fact that among the founding goals of the San Pedro Chamber of Commerce, formed approximately one month after the Woman's Club, was the desire to place "more stringent restrictions over the saloons" and limit their number in San Pedro. *San Pedro Daily News*, March 17, 1906, 3.
25. SPBTM, September 25 and October 9, 1906.
26. SPBTM, June 15 and 22, 1909; SPWCM, September 18 and October 7, 1913.
27. *Los Angeles Examiner*, July 26, 1909, 7.
28. *Los Angeles Express*, July 13, 1909, 22.
29. *San Pedro Daily News*, April 30, 1909, 1. This accusation had special salience to residents of the Los Angeles area since the mayor in question, George Alexander, had been put into office just weeks earlier after the removal of Arthur Harper in March 1909 on the basis of his financial dealings with the underworld.
30. Weltha Reynolds, "History of the San Pedro Woman's Club," handwritten manuscript (1959), in the San Pedro Women's Club Collection [hereinafter SPWCP], SPBHS.
31. SPWCM, March 20, 1906; *San Pedro Daily News* January 11, 1906; March 20, 1906; April 18, 1906.
32. SPWCM, October 22, 1907; *San Pedro Daily News*, October 24, 1907, 3. Inaugurated in 1891 by Caroline Severance and her associates, members of the Friday Morning Club, used the Club as a forum for women's and children's issues, education, and other causes.
33. SPWCM, February 16 and April 20, 1909.
34. Reynolds, "History of the San Pedro Woman's Club; SPWCM, March 3 and May 8, 1908.
35. SPWCM, November 10, 1908.
36. See for example the photo accompanying the consolidation story, "Greater City and $10,000,000 Harbor Project Slogan of Big Mass Meeting at San Pedro," in the *Los Angeles Examiner*, August 6, 1909, page 2.
37. *Los Angeles Examiner*, August 1, 1909, 5.
38. *Los Angeles Express*, August 9, 1909, 2.
39. SPWCM, September 25 and October 5, 1909. According to George Hjelte, the historian of the Los Angeles Parks Department, San Pedro's many open spaces were developed as recreation sites only after the 1925 Charter, which allotted general tax funds to the playground and parks commissions. This provision was largely the result of effective lobbying by several powerful area club women, including nine on the city planning commission; three female playground commissioners; parks commissioner Martha McCan; and three women's club members appointed to the freeholder's commission in charge of the new charter. See George Hjelte, *Footprints in the Parks* (Los Angeles: Public Service Publishers, 1977), 28–33; and Los Angeles Municipal Reference Library, *Chronological Record of Los Angeles City Officials, 1850–1938* (Los Angeles: Los Angeles Public Library, 1938).
40. SPWCM, November 2, December 21, 1909, and January 18, 1910.
41. For European immigrants, see Nicholas P. Lovrich, Jr., *Yugoslavs and Italians in San Pedro: Political Culture and Civic Involvement* (Palo Alto, Calif.: Ragusan Press, 1977). For the Japanese community see Kanichi Kawasaki, "The Japanese Community of East San Pedro, Terminal Island, California," (M.A. thesis, University of Southern California, 1931); Robert Ryono, *Although Patriotic, We Were Drydocked* (Los Angeles: Terminal Island Project, 1994); and *Terminal Island: an Island in Time* (Los Angeles: Terminal Island Project, 1995).
42. Louis B. Perry and Richard S. Perry, *A History of the Los Angeles Labor Movement, 1911-1945* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1963), 166–92; Martin Zanger, "Politics of Confrontation: Upton Sinclair and the Launching of the ACLU in Southern California," *Pacific Historical Review* 38 (1969): 383–406; Nelson VanValen, "'Cleaning Up the Harbor': The Suppression of the I.W.W. at San Pedro, 1922–1925," *Southern California Quarterly* 66 (1984): 147–72.
43. Adamic, *Laughing at the Jungle*, 259 and 260.
44. See for example, John Fante, *The Road to Los Angeles* (Santa Rosa: Black Sparrow Press, 1985) and Ross MacDonald, *The Moving Target* (New York: Alfred Knopf, Inc., 1949). Although MacDonald fictionalized his settings, his comparison of "Cabrillo Canyon"and its lush greenery with the impoverished coastal town inhabited largely by working-class racial minorities could easily be Palos Verdes and San Pedro.
45. *San Pedro Daily News*, September 30, 1909, 1.
46. Adamic, *Laughing at the Jungle*, 260.
47. Jack Smith, *Jack Smith's Los Angeles* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1980), 68.
48. Recent legislation passed in the California Assembly makes such secession platforms both easier and more feasible to implement. See Deborah Belgum, "A Look Ahead," *Los Angeles Times*, December 15, 1997, B1.

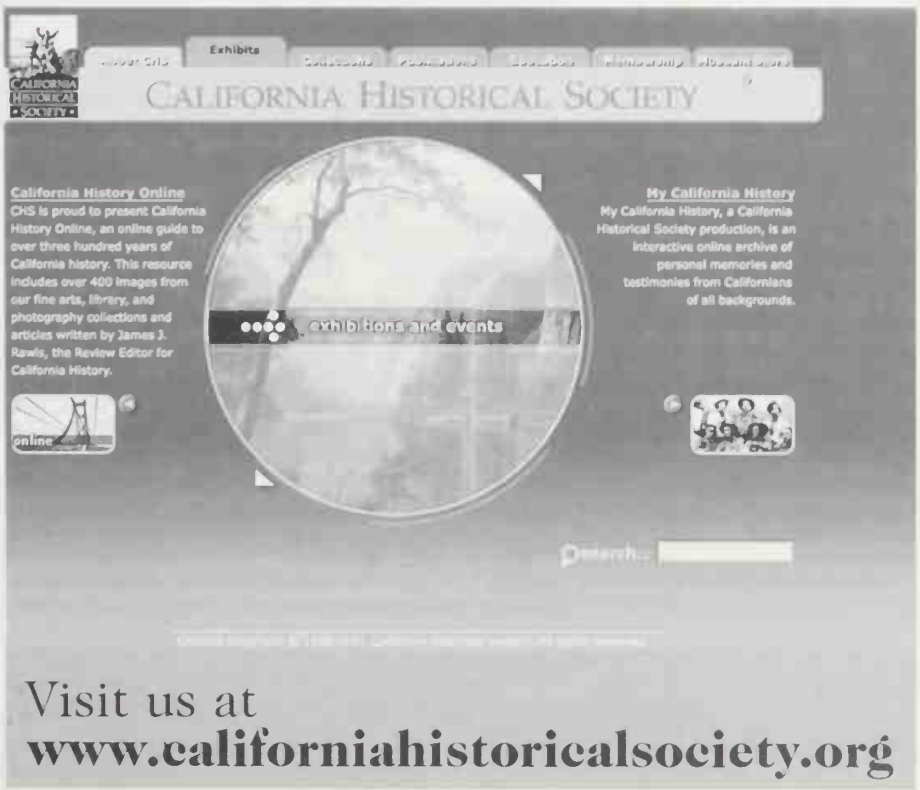
Breedlove, "Inspired and Possessed," pp. 48–63.

1. The title of this article is drawn from Emily Pitts Stevens, "Our Paper and Ourselves," *The Pioneer*, November 13, 1869, p. 1.
2. Edward C. Kemble, *A History of California Newspapers* (New York: Plandome Press, 1994).
3. *Pacific States Newspaper Directory*, 1884, p. 47.
4. The *Carrier Dove* appeared for a decade, from 1883–1893. See accompanying chart for a chronological list of the newspapers and women editors/publishers.
5. Roger Levenson, *Women in Printing: Northern California 1857–1890* (Santa Barbara: Capra Press, 1994), Appendix A, pp. 179–238. The personal and biographical information on many of these publishers is sparse, and Levenson's volume remains the best single source on their lives.
6. The last twenty years have witnessed an expanding interest in this subject. Since 1982 historians have written extensively about women's pre-suffrage role in American politics. See Paula Baker, "The Domestication of Politics: Women and American Political Society, 1780–1920," *The American Historical Review*, vol. 89, no. 3 (June 1981); Ava Baron, "An 'Other' Side of Gender Antagonism at Work: Men, Boys, and the Remasculinization of Printers' Work, 1830–1920" and "Gender and Labor History: Learning from the Past, Looking to the Future," in Ava Baron, ed., *Work Engendered: Toward a New History of American Labor* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1991), pp. 47–69, and 1–46, respectively; Ava Baron, "Contested Terrain Revisited: Technology and Gender Definitions of Work in the Printing Industry, 1850–1920," in Barbara D. Wright, ed., *Women, Work, and Technology: Transformations* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1987), 58–83; Ava Baron, "Women and the Making of the American Working Class: A Study of the Proletarianization of Printers," in *Reviews of Radical Political Economics* 14 (Fall 1982): 23–42; Philip J. Ethington, *The Public City: The Political Construction of Urban Life in San Francisco, 1850–1900* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Suzanne Lebsock, "Women and American Politics, 1880–1920," *Women, Politics, and Change*, ed. by Louise A. Tilly and Patricia Gurin (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1990); and Elaine Tyler May, "Expanding the Past: Recent Scholarship on Women in Politics and Work," *Reviews in American History* 10 (December 1982): 216–33.
7. Frankie Hutton and Barbara Straus Reed, *Outsiders in 19th-Century Press History: Multicultural Perspectives* (Bowling Green, Ky.:

Bowling Green State University Popular Press, 1995).

8. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, et al., *History of Woman Suffrage, 1876–1885* vol. 3 (New York: Arno Press and the New York Times, 1969), p. 754.
9. Eleanor Flexner and Ellen Fitzpatrick, *Century of Struggle: The Woman's Rights Movement in the United States* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University, 1996), 149–56.
10. Hermione Day, "American Women," *The Hesperian*, June 15, 1858, p. 61.
11. Lisle Lester, "Editor's Table," *The Pacific Monthly*, February 1864, p. 437.
12. Ibid., 438.
13. "A Father," "The Woman's Paper," *The El Dorado*, April 10, 1869, p. 1.
14. Virginia F. Russell, "An Appeal to the Women of California, *The El Dorado*, April 10, 1869, p. 3.
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Seeing California—

Salt Gets in Your Eyes

Looking out from high on a bluff north of Fort Ross on the Sonoma County coast or from southbound Interstate 5 over the sand and beyond the Marine Corps training grounds at Camp Pendleton near Oceanside, we see the sea. We see nothing but the sea. It envelops our attention. It fills our consciousness. It transports us to an altered state . . . and then, it takes our breath away.

Contemplating our coast from favorite site lines — those or any of ten-thousand others – can indeed carry us to an altered state: though still planted on California's terra firma, we are left suspended, transfixed, by its size, by its color, by its depth; and by trying to put names on those unfathomable qualities we see. Inexpert but interested, we gape at the expanse of the Pacific, at its multitudes of blues and greenish hues, and at the unknowable complexities of forms that we reckon intuitively to be beneath the surface. Gazing at the sea is no walk in the park; it is a profound experience.

Looking at the deep and contemplating the idea of its secrets, marveling at the enormity of its importance while comprehending so little, creates dumbstruck pleasure. There is joy in recognizing ignorance — limits of knowledge— about a huge body of water. In this way, with face in the ocean spray, and thoughts floating on the sea breeze, salt gets in your eyes. It stings a bit, like tears of joy.

Drying off, and continuing our addled meditation on California's relationship to its adjacent Pacific, we find that unassailed lack of knowledge of the sea in no way detracts from its allure; in no way disrespects its appeal. In fact, it is wondrous and marvelous to revel in the incalculable quantity and diversity of the mass of salt water, sand, algae, echinoderms and crustaceans; the fishes and sea slugs and corals; and also humankind's detritus, flotsam, and jetsam; sub-surface petroleum; pelagic birds and marine mammals; and all the ships at sea and the legions of sport, pleasure, commercial, and military craft in and over and upon the Pacific Ocean.

Indulgently calculating our limitlessness ignorance about the abyss is joyful but incomplete. Such celebration scarcely accounts for activities on the coast — or the hundred-thousand coasts – for the coast is every place where the sea meets the land. The crashing waves, the boiling surf, the rip currents — all the violence contained in the impact of the liquid giant against the moustrous solid — suggest a rivalry in nature. Where there is power, danger also dwells, but the ocean's beauty invites indulgence; people want to take a dip. Mostly, they wade in without any thought of danger, or of the mysteries and beauties of the transcendent ocean. They are just going to the beach, in another kind of enjoyment. It's about invigoration, refreshment, relaxation; it's about the pleasures of the moment and the promise of the day, and it's about the benefits of exercise and the out-of-doors. Whereas, contemplating the ocean and its curved horizon is a geography lesson that tips a hint of the earth's extent, and serves up a mere teaspoon of eternity.

But beware. There is also cognitive danger in the joys of going to the beach, which have compounded to form one of California's strongest images worldwide. In an imitation of life, the entertainment industry has mimicked and mocked tanned youth behaviors of the Bay Watch–Beach Blanket Bingo– Surfin' Safari variety. As both cause and effect, the television–celluloid–vinyl beach culture of the last half-century has given very long and powerful legs to manufacturing, service, and tourist industries. Everywhere, it is the beaches, the surf, the shoreline cliffs and rocks — or the tides, piers, foggy docks, and harbors — that fill people's mental images of our California shores.

When aloft, viewing the ocean and beaches from an airplane just after taking off, the sea looks flatter than it appears ashore. And California's landmass shows more complicated crenelation and topographic variation than are visible from ground-level viewing. Manmade contraptions and buildings and features on the land look small — tiny, really — and flat. Perceptual illusions aside, still the ocean abides as round and swelled, defining the earth's shape, connecting California with the world: to Asia, so far to the west; north to Alaska and Siberia; down under to Australia; and southeast around to South America. We imagine the great Pacific joining with other oceans and seas to complete the circle, to curve around past ours to other worlds, and encompassing all courses steered toward eternity.

Janet R. Fireman
Editor

On the Front Cover: Gottardo Piazzoni (1872-1945), *The Fog Bank*, 1930, oil on canvas, 34 by 34 in. *Oakland Museum of California, Gift of the Estate of Helen Salz. Photograph by M. Lee Fatherree.* On the Back Cover: Sutro Baths, San Francisco, billboard poster, ca. 1913. *Marilyn Blaisdell Collection.*

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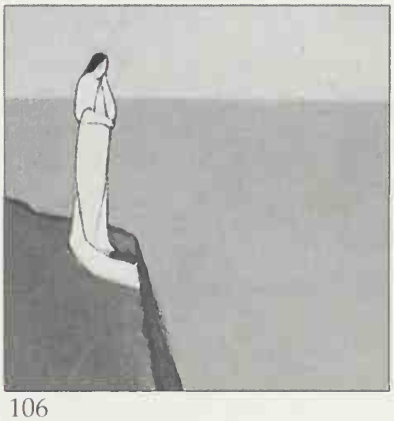
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Clad in his everyday work attire, George Freeth is also wearing the U.S. Volunteer Life-Saving medal for Valor, and his most treasured possession: the Congressional Gold Medal. *Courtesy Los Angeles County Lifeguard Trust Fund.*

George Freeth

King of the Surfers and California's Forgotten Hero

by Arthur C. Verge

Show me a hero and I'll write you a tragedy.
— F. Scott Fitzgerald

Not far from the crowded shoreline of Waikiki Beach is the final resting place of a native Hawaiian who forever changed California and its image to the world.[1] Beneath the Freeth family tombstone is his simple burial marker. Only the engraved lettering "G.D. 1883-1919" designates it as his grave. The small grave site makes no mention of George Douglas Freeth, Jr., as having been awarded the nation's highest civilian honor, the Congressional Gold Medal. Nor does it indicate that he is considered the father of modern ocean lifesaving. No mention is made that he was the person who first demonstrated and taught the sport of surfing in southern California. Within the serene tropical confines of Oahu Cemetery, however, the light winds blow eastward toward the mainland, seemingly carrying the gentle spirit of the man whose impact on such California icons as ocean lifeguards, surfers, swimmers, and water-polo players, is still felt in modern times.[2]

George Douglas Freeth, Jr., was born on the Hawaiian island of Oahu on November 9, 1883, to a well-connected local family. His maternal grandfather, whose grave is only a few feet from his own, was London-born William Lowthian Green. Although a once-failed California gold prospector, Green earned a substantial fortune in Hawaii by helping to found an inter-island shipping company. He also co-founded and later managed the highly profitable Honolulu Iron Works. Well-educated and blessed with a hearty adventurous spirit, Green, in 1880, became Hawaii's Minister of Foreign Affairs.[3] His daughter, Elizabeth Kaili, who was one-half Hawaiian, married Englishman George Freeth, Sr., on December 16, 1879. The union produced six children, of whom George, Jr., was the third of four boys and two girls.[4]

At an early age the younger George took to the ocean. He excelled at both swimming and diving. At a time when island newspapers proudly boasted that Hawaii was "the home of swimmers," George was selected captain of the prominent Waikiki-based Healani swim team.[5] In an age before radio and television, large numbers of tourists and islanders would congregate to attend local water carnivals. It was during these events that a youthful Freeth first made his mark as a gifted waterman. Although a preeminent champion swimmer, he proved to be a crowd favorite with his skills on the high dive. To the delight of spectators and the admiration of competitors, he performed "high and fancy" dives, many of which had never been seen. Among those who



Making it look easy, Freeth rode a wave into the shore at Hermosa Beach in 1909. *Courtesy Redondo Beach Historical Commission.*

witnessed and admired George's aquatic prowess was the young Duke Kahanamoku. Kahanamoku, who later rose to legendary status in both the sports of swimming and surfing, became a life-long admirer and friend of the older Freeth.[6]

While Freeth enjoyed exceptional athletic success in community swimming pools, it was in the ocean where he excelled. Waikiki Beach was near the family home. There, with its tropical setting, warm ocean temperatures, and slow rolling surf, he spent much of his early life. It was also in these waters that George first attracted international attention from the pen of middle-aged travel and adventure writer Alexander Hume Ford.

Ford, who later gained fame for his ceaseless promotion of Hawaii and its culture, settled in Oahu in early 1907, after having traveled extensively throughout Asia and Siberia. Among his notable works from these theaters was his coverage of the building of the Trans-Siberian Railroad. Arriving in the islands as a well-established author, the South Carolinian quickly went to work researching and

writing about Hawaiian society.[7] One aspect of native culture that particularly fascinated him was the sport of surfing. Like most people worldwide, he had never seen anything like it. To better understand the sport, which at one time had been banned throughout Hawaii by New England missionaries who deplored its "immodesty and idleness," Ford sought to learn it.[8]

Ford's early attempts at surfing met with one failure after another. Nonetheless, he soldiered on, enlisting the paid assistance of local surfing instructors. Even that failed. He wrote, "It seemed to me that my teachers must give me up as an inept pupil, and they did." Ford's persistence paid off, however. As he continued his struggle to stand up on a board, a young surfer noticed his predicament and paddled over to assist him. It was George Freeth. Ford wrote, "A young hapahole (half-white, half-native) took pity on me. He was the champion surfer of the Islands." Ford wrote glowingly of his first meeting with the young Hawaiian, "I learned in a half an hour the secret I had sought for weeks."[9]

Their meeting in the waters off Waikiki proved fortuitous for both men. In Freeth, Ford found a kindred soul. The young Hawaiian's polite, genteel manner matched his own cultured southern upbringing. More importantly, Freeth was very much like the author himself: restless, driven, and filled with an adventurous spirit. Ford would not only write of Freeth's skills on a surfboard to a worldwide audience, but he became so taken with the sport itself that he assisted in establishing the Outrigger Canoe and Surfboard Club on Waikiki Beach. He had two goals in creating the group. One was to encourage and preserve the sport among native Hawaiians. The other was to use the club's idyllic location, which fronted several beach hotels, to introduce surfing to visiting tourists.[10] For his part, Freeth gave Ford's work credibility among the island population. Not only was Freeth respected and admired by locals on Waikiki Beach, his reputation was such that Hawaiian government officials selected him in May of 1907 to accompany a United States congressional delegation that was touring the Hawaiian Islands on a fact-finding mission. Freeth acted both as a host and the delegation's chief lifeguard.[11] Also joining the expedition, which was organized to determine if Hawaii could qualify for future statehood, was Ford. For years afterward, Ford used the tour and the connections he made on it as a political conduit to interest Washington in the territory and its peoples.

As the congressional tour continued to make its way throughout the island chain, Ford decided to remain behind in Waikiki.[12] It was on Oahu that he made perhaps his greatest connection in publicizing the islands and his now-beloved sport of surfing. On the evening of May 29, 1907, Ford spotted fellow adventure writer Jack London and his wife, Charmian, enjoying a quiet drink in the foyer of the Royal Hawaiian Hotel. The southerner strolled over to the couple and introduced himself. At the time, London was arguably the most popular writer in the United States. To his good fortune, London was well aware of Ford's work and invited him to join them for dinner.[13]

While the two men discussed their various writing forays around the globe, it was Ford's talk of his latest project, which was to document and revive the ancient Hawaiian sport of surfing, that caught London's attention. London was so captivated by the other author's description of the sport that he readily agreed to join him on a "surfing excursion" in the waves off Waikiki Beach. Several days later, within sight of Charmian London, the two adventurers began to wade out into the breakers. Although Ford had greatly improved his skills on a board, he was certainly no expert, and preferred to surf on the smaller "inside" waves. However, far out in the distant surf, the two men spied George Freeth riding speedily across a large wave. Just as Ford had been when he first eye-witnessed surfing, London was enthralled. Mustering up their courage, the novices paddled out to join Freeth. London later wrote:

> Shaking the water from my eyes as I emerged from one wave and peered ahead to see what the next one looked like, I saw him tearing in on the back of it, standing upright on his board, carelessly poised, a young god with sunburn. We went through the wave on the back of which he rode. Ford called to

him. He turned an airspring from his wave, rescued his board from its maw, paddled over to us and joined Ford in showing me things.[14]

Although London later suffered from severe sunburn and a bump on his head as a result of getting hit by a loose board, he wrote enthusiastically of his first experience surfing. He was also particularly taken with Freeth. Though the young Hawaiian was modest about his abilities in the ocean, London immortalized him and his water skills to readers worldwide. He wrote: "He is a Mercury—a brown Mercury. His heels are winged, and in them is the swiftness of the sea."[15]

As Ford and London continued to enjoy Hawaii, Freeth approached them for letters of introduction to take on a planned trip to California. Both authors happily complied. The three shared much in common: they were exceptional at what they did; all three enjoyed adventure; and all seemed to be afflicted with wanderlust. Now with introductions from the two notable authors as well as from members of the Hawaii Promotion Committee, whose purpose was to increase tourism to Hawaii from the mainland, Freeth boarded the San Francisco-bound passenger ship *Alameda* on July 3, 1907.

Freeth's departure from Hawaii was front-page news in the island's main newspaper, *The Pacific Commercial Advertiser.* Under the banner "GEORGE FREETH OFF TO COAST — Will Illustrate Hawaiian Surfriding to People in California," the article, accompanied by a portrait of Freeth, detailed the twenty-three-year-old's contributions in reviving the once banned sport of surfing. The newspaper reported,

> At the time when Freeth first took up surf riding there had been very few here for many years who had been able to perform the trick of standing on a surfboard, and coming in to the shore on the crest of a wave. The white man who could do it was exceptional. Freeth determined that if the old natives had been able to do the trick there was no reason that he could not do the same. In a short time he mastered the feat and then went further. The older inhabitants told of natives in the early days who stood on their heads when they came in. Freeth soon proved that this could be done at the present time as well as before.[16]

Three weeks after leaving Honolulu, Freeth was spotted surfing the waves off the southern California beach community of Venice. His appearance drew large crowds of onlookers. On July 22, 1907, a small news article with the headline "Surf Riders Have Drawn Attention" appeared in the Santa Monica-based newspaper *The Daily Outlook.*[17]

The young Hawaiian's arrival in southern California could not have occurred at a better time. Los Angeles in 1907 was undergoing a large growth spurt both in population and business formation. Venice and Redondo Beach were centerpieces of real-estate development along the region's stunning coastline. In May of 1904, cigarette magnate Abbot Kinney had announced a grandiose plan to develop a coastal resort community south of Santa Monica that would be modeled after Venice, Italy. Within twelve months, what had been derided by many in Los Angeles as "Kinney's Folly" had become a reality complete with scenic waterways, gondolas, and picturesque Italianate-designed buildings.[18]

Just a dozen miles to the south, meanwhile, Kinney's sometime business rival, Henry Huntington, was busy purchasing land in Redondo Beach.[19] In July of 1905, he bought the Redondo Company, which owned nearly all the land in the quiet coastal town. "When I studied the place and saw its attractions," he remarked, "the beautiful topography it possessed, those terraces rising in harmonious degrees from the sea, I determined that it presented such features as should make it the great resort of this region."[20] Very shortly, a three-story, Moorish-style pavilion began to rise. Housing a massive second-story ballroom that could accommodate more than five-hundred dancing couples at a time, the 34,069-square-foot pavilion acted as a lure in attracting visitors to his real estate interests in Redondo Beach.[21] In addition, Huntington had solidified his investment in Redondo as well as his other substantial land holdings in southern California by developing what would become the region's dom-



Shortly after arriving in California, Freeth was employed in not one, but two double-duty jobs. In Venice and Redondo Beach, two new coastal resort communities, Freeth taught swimming and served as lifeguard at the warm saltwater indoor plunges. Outside, he rode the waves in surfing exhibitions at the beaches and worked with volunteer lifesavers. *Courtesy Los Angeles County Lifeguard Trust Fund, Witt Family Collection.*

inant transportation system, the Pacific Electric Railway.

By 1907, both resort cities were attracting substantial numbers of visitors. Many of those who traveled aboard Huntington's big red cars to the coast fell in love with the beaches and their fresh ocean air. This, however, proved problematic for parents and children alike in that the inviting ocean they encountered at the shoreline could prove deadly for those who attempted to swim out among the waves. Recognizing the inherent dangers for those wanting to take "swims" along the coast, both Kinney and Huntington built swimming pools adjacent to their beach areas. Owing to the fitness craze sweeping the nation at the time, boosted in part by the very physically active President Theodore Roosevelt (1901-1909), these warm salt-water pools were very popular with the beachgoing public.

Although the pools offered water recreation, the ocean was far more alluring for some bathers, especially venturesome teenagers. Many parents who once had considered buying coastal property did not, fearing that the attraction of swimming in the ocean would prove too tempting for their offspring. So dangerous were the waters that even experienced swimmers lost their lives at an alarming rate along the shores of Santa Monica Bay.[22] Following the drowning deaths of two fishermen off Venice on May 12, 1907, both *The Herald Examiner* and *The Daily Outlook* wrote editorials condemning the lack of lifesaving equipment and trained ocean lifesavers along Santa Monica Bay.

Two months before George Freeth appeared surf-

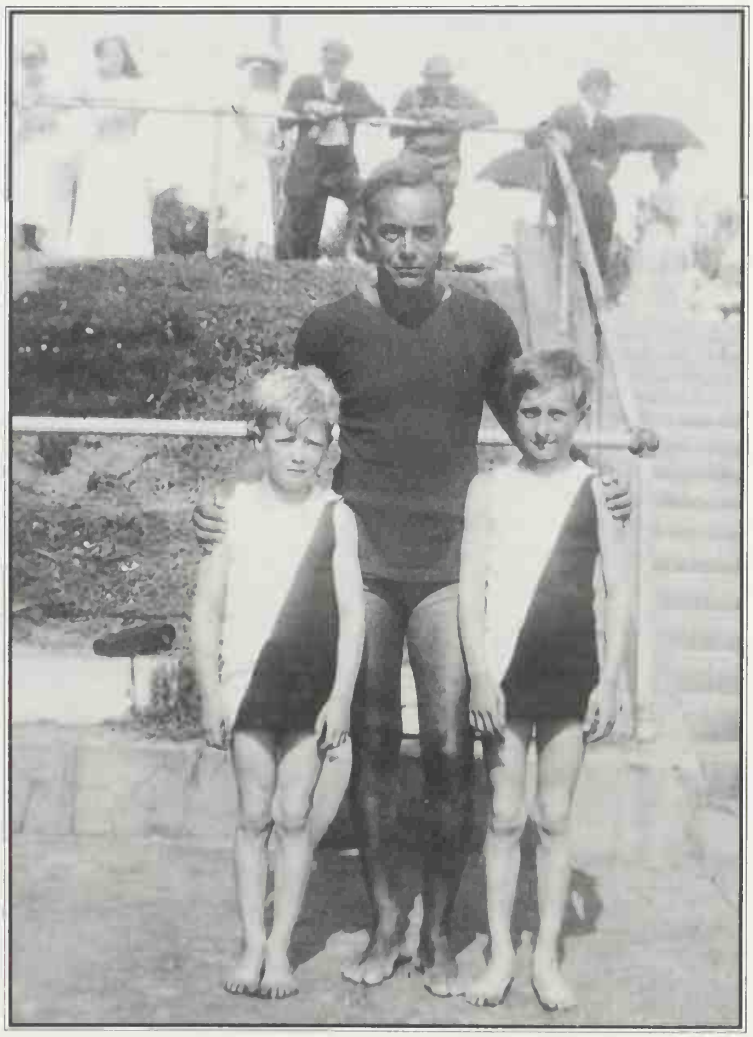
ing off the shoreline of Venice, Abbot Kinney, "The Doge of Venice," was appealing to residents to assist him in recruiting volunteer lifeguards. With her service group, The Pick and Shovel Club, Kinney's wife, Margaret, led a fund-raising effort to purchase a boat that could be used by lifesavers in the event of an ocean rescue. On May 28, 1907, the Venice Lifesaving Crew was formed with twenty-eight men volunteering their services.[23] Sadly, only weeks later as the neophyte crew was practicing, a wave capsized the small two-man training dory, and volunteer lifesaver Charles Watson drowned in front of his stunned crew mates. According to *The Daily Outlook*, "Watson's drowning probably constitutes the most heartrending tragedy that was ever enacted within sight of the beach here and took place less than 400 hundred [sic] feet from where more than a score of the life corps stood, absolutely unable to in any way prevent his untimely death."[24]

The publication of the ocean lifesaving crew's inability to save one of their own spelled potential financial disaster for the growing beach tourist trade, as well as the region's coastal real-estate industry. However, the appearance of George Freeth in July 1907 marked the beginning of change. In Freeth, both Kinney and Huntington found a young man whose skill in aquatics drew crowds to their respective beaches. Moreover, his exceptional dexterity on the surfboard, which included standing on his head while surfing down a wave, tantalized beach going audiences as to what fun swimming in the ocean could be if they, too, could master Freeth's talents. It also helped that George was personable and intelligent. He possessed a warm and temperate nature that was ideal for teaching.

Within six months of his arrival in California, Freeth was commuting between the two seaside communities aboard Huntington's Pacific Electric Railway. At Redondo, in the employ of Huntington, Freeth performed his surfing act twice a day under the billing "The Hawaiian Wonder."[25] Along Venice's beach, meanwhile, Freeth did surfing exhibitions and worked with the volunteer lifesavers. At both locations, residents and visitors alike were captivated by the transplanted Hawaiian. For his part, Freeth understood the need to showcase his aquatic skills. He was savvy to promotion. With his surfing act he not only drew crowds to the beach locales but also to the plunges where he earned his living as a lifeguard and as a swimming and diving instructor.

Nevertheless, Freeth was not in the water-sport promotion business solely to make money. His real passion, which he approached with missionary fervor, was water safety. In the course of his work he selected and trained a group of young swimmers to become ocean lifeguards. Several of these would go on to form today's Los Angeles County, Long Beach, and San Diego Lifeguard Services. Freeth taught them such lifesaving skills as rescue swimming, ocean rowing, and paddling. The young neophytes were tutored by the gifted waterman in the art of using rip currents to help speed them out to swimmers in distress. Whereas other rescue personnel, particularly lifesavers on the East Coast, believed rip currents acted as an "undertow," Freeth demonstrated in his own rescue work that rip currents themselves do not drag swimmers "under," but instead out to sea. Freeth taught that fighting against powerful rip currents tired trapped swimmers and caused them to drown. Under his direction, then, his young protégés would enter the rip current, swim with it to the victim, and then guide the victim laterally out of the pulling current. This simple technique, which is still employed today, was responsible for saving hundreds of lives within its first five years of use.

Freeth did not stop there. Those under his tutelage, whether male or female, were expected to become "watermen." The young Hawaiian's vision of a true "waterman" was a person who was one with the ocean. Freeth expected his pupils, after diligent training, to be able to safely swim, paddle, and row through treacherous surf. Additionally, he taught his future lifeguards the latest techniques and treatments in medical first aid. "Innovation" and "efficiency" were his watchwords; he encouraged people to think "outside the box" when it came to saving lives. Following his example, several of



At Redondo Beach in 1910, George Freeth posed with two of his star pupils, brothers Tommy and Jerry Witt. Knock-kneed Tommy, on the left, was to become a diving champion; Jerry was a nationally ranked swimmer. More than sixty years after this photo was made, Tommy Witt related memories of lifeguarding and training with Freeth when he spoke to the Los Angeles County Lifeguard Service. *Courtesy Los Angeles County Lifeguard Trust Fund, Witt Family Collection.*

Freeth's pupils took up distance sand running, ocean swimming, and surfing to better acclimatize themselves to the rigors of the ocean from which they were now expected to protect swimmers.

Evidence of Freeth's devotion to swimming and lifesaving can be found in the careers of his followers. At Redondo, he nurtured several young swimmers, one of whom, Ludy Langer, would go on to set three world records. Discussing Freeth in a 1980 interview, Langer recalled:

> I remember George. You couldn't forget him. To see him in the water—well, I can't describe it. He had absolutely no fear of it. It was his natural place. There was something else about George—he was generous, generous to a fault. He coached I don't know how many of us—four of us went to the Olympics—and he never charged us a dime.[26]

Another Freeth protégé was Redondo high diver Tommy Witt. He recalled, "I took my first dive from the rafters in the plunge when I was seven years old. I can remember Freeth's instructions and encouraging words. Freeth taught all of us kids confidence, style and fearlessness of the water."[27]

Freeth's own fearlessness played an important

part in his work with the lifesaving crew at Venice. The death of volunteer lifesaver Charles Watson was a catalyst in promoting the need for a well-trained and amply equipped crew. Through large-scale fund-raising efforts, led by The Pick and Shovel Club, the Venice Volunteer Lifesaving Crew was able to purchase a sturdy metallic lifeboat that was built according to federal specifications. On August 24, 1907, with a large crowd in attendance, the new lifeboat was christened *Venice* with a bottle of champagne.[28] Two and one-half months later a second lifeboat was donated by the Pacific Electric Railway Company.[29] The acquisition of two lifeboats and a small mortar cannon—used to signal for help when a swimmer or boat was in distress—gave the Venice corps a boost toward professionalism. The equipment was nearly useless, however, without a well-trained crew.

The federal government sent A.G. Humphries of the United States Volunteer Lifesaving Corps to give the men tips on rescue work, as well as to bring them under the agency's direction.[30] But there was a problem with joining the national corps. The organization was designed to rescue boats and ships in distress, not swimmers caught in rip currents.[31] For nearly a year, therefore, the Venice lifeguards elected to remain independent from the federal body.[32]

During this time, Freeth undertook to train the men in practical rescue work, which included not just the use of lifeboats, but also the novel idea of swimming out to bathers in distress. That was new. So grateful were the Venice guards for his tutelage that on the occasion of his twenty-fourth birthday, they surprised their captain with a gold watch and a card that read, in part:

> Mr. George Freeth, King of the Surf Board, Captain of the Venice Basketball team, First Lieutenant of Venice Volunteer Life Saving Corps, and leader in Aquatic Sports and General Good Fellowship, is reliable, sober, industrious . . . We, his comrades and citizens of Venice, extend our best wishes and a watch, that he may continue to keep abreast of the time to the century mark at least.[33]

As a further expression of their admiration for Freeth, the Venice Lifesaving Crew voted him their new captain at the annual year-end gathering and elections.[34] This was a significant honor, considering that he had arrived in California just five months earlier.

Freeth's tireless efforts to make the Venice Volunteer Lifesaving Corps proficient at water rescue work were tested severely on the afternoon of December 16, 1908. On that day, at approximately one o'clock, a tremendous winter squall suddenly descended upon Santa Monica Bay. The usually placid waters turned quickly into rolling troughs of white caps and blinding spray. The gale force winds and the high surf they caused trapped several Japanese fishing boats off the Venice Pier, near its protective breakwater. Although the crews fought valiantly to stay afloat and away from the pier's south-to-north jetty of solid rock, the storm's immense strength proved to be too powerful.[35]

For the next two-and-a-half hours, George Freeth braved gale force winds, pounding surf, and a frigid ocean temperature to save single-handedly the lives of seven men. In the process he nearly lost his own life to hypothermia. Despite being near collapse from having stayed so long in the chilly waters, Freeth ignored the pleas of onlookers and dove off the Venice Pier to rescue still another boat in distress. It was his fourth time out on a long rescue. The Venice Lifesaving Corpsmen then risked their own lives and launched their boat to assist Freeth. Once the object of public ridicule, the now heroic Venice lifesavers rowed through the powerful breakers in the well-practiced fashion that Freeth had taught them. Inspired by the example of their mentor's tenacity in keeping three drowning fishermen afloat in the churning ocean, the lifeboat crew effected the final rescue.[36] Freeth's bravery, and that of the corps, was witnessed by thousands of onlookers, many of whom had left their jobs to watch the prolonged operation. Owing to Freeth's skills, and those of the crew he trained personally, not one life was lost in the ordeal.

Rescue of the eleven fishermen made front-page news in all of the major Los Angeles papers. Both *The Los Angeles Times* and *The Los Angeles Tribune* dispatched eyewitness reporters to cover the story.



A consummate waterman, George Freeth at the bow, leaning into the effort, enjoyed rowing a quarter-ton dory through the surf to maintain his physical conditioning. With him is a fellow lifeguard at Redondo Beach in 1913. *Courtesy Los Angeles County Lifeguard Trust Fund.*

Their first-hand accounts brought Freeth and his crew to national recognition. Ignoring the notoriety, the corps was back at work the next day. There they were met by the rescued Japanese fishermen, who presented Freeth with a gold watch and a financial donation.[37] In addition, the grateful men announced that they had changed the name of their fishing village, located at the foot of the Long Wharf, in modern-day Pacific Palisades, from Maikura to Port Freeth. It bore that name until it was destroyed by fire five years later. A *Herald Examiner* reporter who visited Port Freeth in 1911 found that the villagers performed a nightly Shinto ritual, during which they burned incense and made offerings of rice and poi to honor the young Hawaiian responsible for saving seven of their own.[38]

In the days following the rescue, Abbot Kinney also visited the lifesaving station to thank Freeth. Besides his business interest as founder of Venice, Kinney had a personal reason to be proud of these men. His son, Sherwood, was a member of the lifeboat crew involved in the final harrowing rescue. Furthermore, Kinney and other leading citizens of Venice recommended Freeth for official commendation. In a sworn affidavit that was used to nominate Freeth for the Congressional Gold Medal, a witness declared, "In my opinion there is not another man on the beach, or perhaps in America, that could have accomplished the wonderful feat that Freeth accomplished in this matter." Another witness stated in his affidavit that Freeth received no salary for his services but worked purely on a volunteer basis. The same witness added: "There is no doubt in my mind that these seven men would have lost their lives on this occasion if it had not been for the noble efforts of this said George Freeth."[39]

As a result of these collected statements and the first-hand news accounts of the rescue, a special act of Congress dated June 25, 1910, awarded Freeth the nation's highest civilian honor: the Congressional Gold Medal. It was reported at the time that he was only the fifth recipient of the honor since George Washington first received it on March 25, 1776.[40] Freeth and his crew were also recognized by the neighboring community of Pasadena, which invited them to participate in the 1909 Rose Parade. The proud Venice Lifesaving Corps marched alongside a small float, which they had dedicated to the profession of ocean lifesaving.[41]

The success of the 1908 rescue operation was tempered by the fact that the majority of the endeavor had been accomplished solely by Freeth. For more than an hour his fellow lifesavers were unable to lend assistance because they could not launch their lifeboat in the extremely high surf. By contrast, Freeth had managed to save seven lives that might otherwise have been lost, by the simple act of diving off the pier and swimming successfully through the powerful waves. His actions on that December day in 1908 ushered in a new era of ocean lifesaving. Whereas before then lifesavers wasted precious time assembling crews and waiting for the right moment to launch their crafts, the new practice demanded dispensing with boats in favor of swimming out immediately to those in danger, regardless of weather or the size of the surf.

Freeth played the key role in revolutionizing the way lifesavers performed their work. Both by example and reasoning, he emphasized the need to handle rescues in a completely different manner. When proponents of lifeboats argued that lifesaving crews could make rescues much farther from shore and carry more victims than a swimmer acting alone, Freeth pointed out that rip currents closer to the beach were far more likely to place people in distress. He was correct. As times changed, and more and more swimmers abandoned Victorian modesty to venture into the ocean clad in one-piece bathing suits specifically designed for swimming activities, older rescue methods became outmoded. After all, the original lifesaving boats and their crews used in America since colonial times were intended to save ships in distress, not recreational swimmers. By 1908, corps members realized that assembling a lifeboat crew to rescue a distressed swimmer just fifty yards offshore was nothing short of foolishness. They also recognized the inherent problems with use of lifeboats, especially their tendency to flip over in high surf.[42]



Teaching and coaching youngsters in swimming, surfing, and water safety may have been Freeth's greatest delight. Lined up with their boards in the surf at Redondo Beach, these local boys grew up to become the nuclei of modern ocean lifesaving crews. *Courtesy Los Angeles County Lifeguard Trust Fund, Witt Family Collection.*

Central to Freeth's contributions was the way he taught lifesavers to perceive themselves and their work. During his tenure along the southern California coastline, the term lifesaver was abandoned in favor of the title lifeguard. To George, an ocean lifeguard was "at one with the water," being proficient not only in ocean swimming, but also in rowing and surfing. In Freeth's vision, the concept of lifesavers, whose primary mission was to respond to someone in distress, would be replaced by lifeguards, whose purpose was focused primarily on preventing situations where rescues became necessary. In short, where the traditional view of lifesaving was reactive, Freeth's view of lifeguarding was pro-active. According to this new perception, guards would patrol area beaches constantly in order to warn swimmers away from ocean-related dangers such as inshore holes and rip currents.[43]

Freeth worked diligently with his crewmen to improve their swimming skills for lifeguarding. While swimming competitions remained popular among the guards and the public at large, Freeth

found that many swimmers deplored the drudgery of year-round training, with the consequence that they often skipped workouts during the winter months. To encourage swimmers to stay in shape, Freeth helped organize the relatively new sport of water polo.[44] It quickly became popular with the guards and served to keep many of them physically fit throughout the year. Freeth himself competed, playing at various times for the Venice and Redondo Beach water polo clubs. Before long, he garnered a reputation as the best water polo player on the West Coast.[45]

In the summer of 1909, Henry Huntington opened an opulent new "plunge" in Redondo Beach. Located south of the Moorish Pavilion, the new $200,000 natatorium, Redondo Plunge, looked more like a royal palace than a public swimming pool. Advertised as the "largest in the world," the three-story structure occupied 43,688 square feet of beachside property. With over one thousand dressing rooms and three heated pools, the Redondo Plunge could hold as many as two thousand swimmers at one time. It was here that Freeth spent much of his time lifeguarding, teaching, and performing. L.E. Martin, who developed water rescue equipment with Freeth's advice, recalled the latter's popularity:



The expanse and the popularity of indoor pools are apparent in this postcard view of the Redondo Beach Plunge. Bathers in the foreground took time out from their sporting frolic to stare into the camera. *Courtesy Arthur C. Verge.*

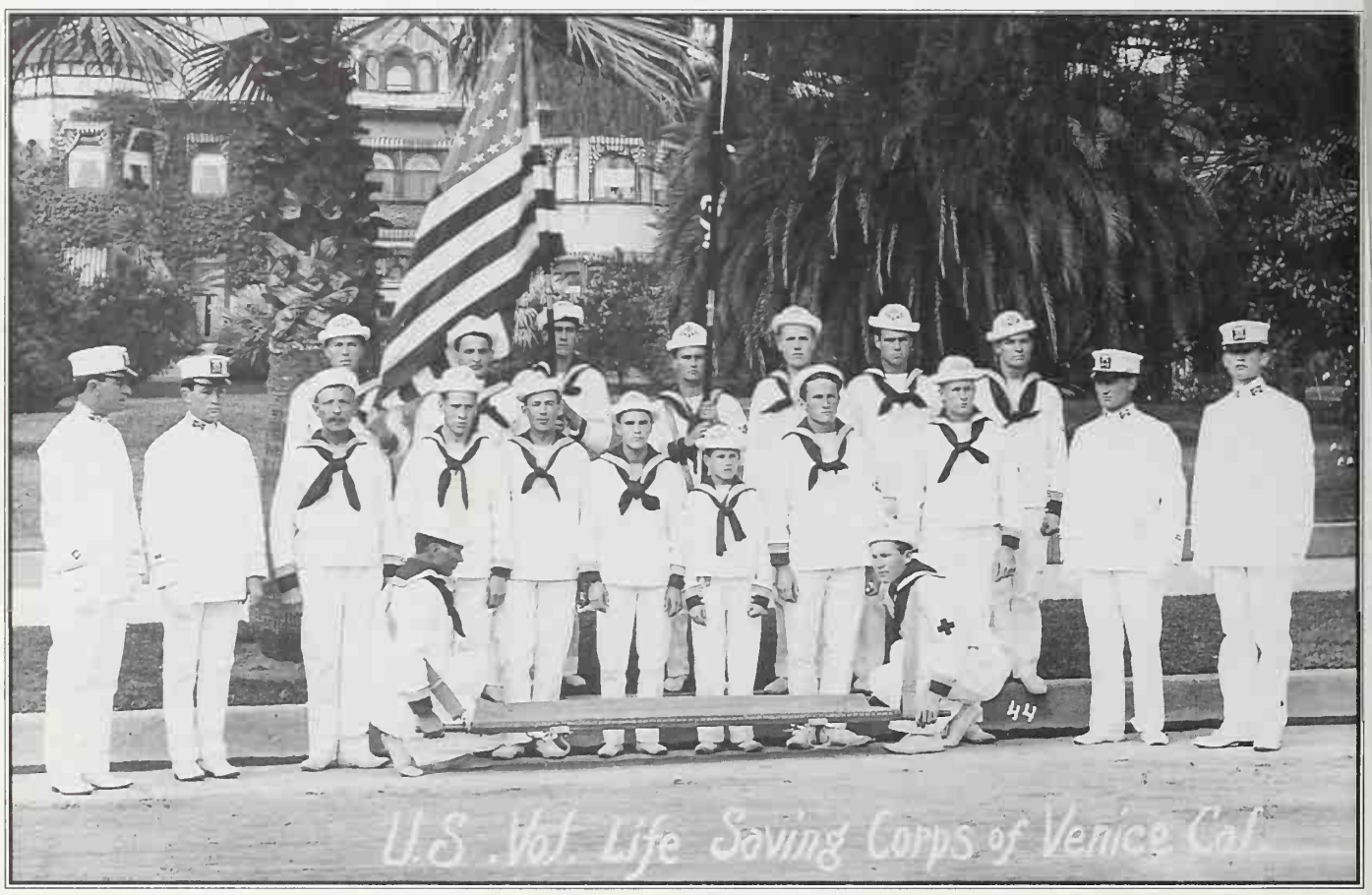


Launching and christening the *Venice*, the new lifeboat purchased for the Venice Volunteer Lifesaving Corps, was a public event of note. The following year, bringing in the boat after a practice rowing session was recorded on this 1908 postcard. *Courtesy Arthur C. Verge*

> He had a native wit which sent waves of laughter through the house and his step and stride were that of an aristocrat of strength. His skill in diving was an art of unsurpassed beauty and when you see him come down from an 86-foot stand, or spring into a lifeboat, you marvel that 170 pounds can, at all times, move with such perfect grace.

So popular was Freeth with plunge visitors, in fact, that when he suffered a small bout of food poisoning, local newspapers carried the story.[46] One woman who attended the plunge on a regular basis wrote *The Redondo Reflex* stating that "Many visitors to the beach have wished for an opportunity to express appreciation for the work of Mr. Freeth at the bath house. We have been entertained by his wit," she continued, "rejoiced by his chivalry, inspired by his courage and awed by his sublime heroism. Redondo Beach is fortunate to have in her midst a teacher of aquatic expertise who is so perfectly the exponent of that what he teaches. Long may he live—this large souled, fine grained, noble hearted Freeth."[47]

Whatever satisfaction he might have derived from performing, competing, and lifeguarding, Freeth's greatest enjoyment at the Redondo Plunge seems to have been his work with young people. He spent much of his time turning his pupils into well-rounded water athletes who could surf, ocean swim, and compete at water polo. Free from many of the prejudices of the day, Freeth also heartily encouraged women to participate. One of his favorite students was Dolly Mings, whom he taught to swim. With his patient tutelage and her strenuous conditioning,



Deservedly proud of the U.S. Volunteer Life Saving Corps of Venice, Captain George Freeth, standing at the far left, reviews his crew in 1909. *Courtesy Los Angeles County Lifeguard Trust Fund, Elayne Alexander Collection.*

she developed into a world-class swimmer. In fact, within three years of her first lesson with Freeth, Mings set the national record in the women's fifty-yard freestyle.[48]

Among Freeth's other responsibilities at the plunge was responding to the needs of distressed bathers in the adjacent ocean. Newspapers such as *The Redondo Reflex* and *The Redondo Breeze* actively carried stories of such rescues. Summoned by the ringing of emergency bells placed along the shoreline or by the phone at the new plunge, Freeth would rush out of the building and down the beach to rescue whomever was in need.

With increasing popularity of ocean swimming, and as the swimming beaches grew longer in length, the resourceful Freeth began devising new methods to handle the growing needs. First and foremost was his work in creating the Redondo Beach Lifesaving Corps. Freeth staffed it with many of his young swimmers, including world-class athletes Ludy



Rope loops suspended from a cable strung along Venice Beach offered a lifeline for poor swimmers who couldn't resist taking a dunk in the ocean. For braver or more foolhardy souls who got in trouble while swimming, the Venice lifeguards, seen here launching one of their two boats, would save the day. *Courtesy Venice Historical Society.*

Langer and Cliff Bowes, both of whom were able to swim out to swimmers in need of rescuing.

For lifeguards who did not have strong swimming capabilities, or who tended to tire during a long return to the shore against the pull of a wide rip current, Freeth developed a large rescue reel with the assistance of Byron Minor, the manager of the Redondo Plunge. Set on a large triangular pod, the reel held 1,500 feet of cable. Attached to the cable was a torpedo-shaped rescue buoy. When a lifeguard entered the water with the new buoy, he could effect the rescue and then be reeled in, together with the saved swimmer, by his fellow guards.[49] A year later, while area fire departments still used horse-drawn carts to transport emergency equipment, Freeth combined his innovation with motorcycle technology to allow greater mobility. Specifically, he devised a rescue sidecar attached to a motorcycle, which he provided with a smaller version of the reel and its metal rescue can. The new device, financed by local officials, was an immediate hit. Each morning Freeth warmed up the motorcycle and then patrolled the South Bay beaches. He assured local residents that once he received an alarm call, he could be on the emergency scene within three minutes.[50]

Despite his successes at Venice and Redondo Beach, Freeth, like other lifeguards of that era, was plagued by low wages. In September 1910, accom-

panied by two other West Coast lifeguards, he returned to his native island of Oahu, where he secured work as a deep-sea diver to construct dry docks at the rapidly growing port of Pearl Harbor. When not working, Freeth could be found surfing or playing water polo. His return to Hawaii was well-publicized by *The Pacific Commercial Advertiser* and subsequent news of him often noted his having been awarded the Congressional Gold Medal.

In January 1911, Freeth returned to Redondo Beach, where he was rehired at his old job and former salary at the plunge. The low pay he received for his work became a concern for Redondo Beach officials.[51] Fearing Freeth would leave Redondo Beach and seek employment elsewhere, town fathers added to his regular wages by hiring him as a "special lifeguard," giving him extra work helping to rescue distressed swimmers along the neighboring beach, at $25 per month.[52] Adding to his woes was a ruling by the national Amateur Athletic Union (AAU) that those who received compensation for aquatic activities would be prohibited from competing in the approaching 1912 Olympics at Stockholm.

In July 1913, George's good friend Duke Kahanamoku visited him at the plunge. One year earlier, Duke had shocked the sports world with his record-breaking time in the 100-meter freestyle event, and from that he attracted an enormous following. To the delight of the crowd, Kahanamoku and Freeth, along with several other visiting Hawaiians, went out surfing. When reporters later asked the Olympic champion to discuss his experiences at Stockholm in 1912, Kahanamoku complained that the United States would have dominated the Olympic diving events if his fellow Hawaiian, George Freeth, had been permitted to compete. Duke ranked Freeth "the world's greatest diver."[53]

On September 12, 1913, Freeth and Redondo lifeguard George Mitchell were involved in a motorcycle accident en route to an ocean rescue. Suffering a broken ankle, George was unable to work. As a result of the financial strain this placed on him, he moved from a boarding house to reside in the Mitchell family home.[54] During this convalescence, Freeth accepted the position of head swimming instructor at the prestigious Los Angeles Athletic Club.[55]

From October 1913 to February 1915 Freeth worked at the downtown club, giving swimming lessons and coaching the swim team. The LAAC, as it was known, had among its members many of Los Angeles's most powerful and influential business leaders. These included his former employers, Abbot Kinney and Henry Huntington. George's arrival at the LAAC was the turning point for the club, which developed one of the country's top swimming programs under his direction. Its roster eventually included Olympic swimming gold medalists Johnny Weismueller and fellow Hawaiian Clarence "Buster" Crabbe, both of whom later acted in Tarzan films. As the new LAAC swim coach, Freeth brought with him several of his young protégés from Redondo Beach, such as the future world record-holder in swimming, Ludy Langer, and the Pacific Coast diving champion Cliff Bowes. In October 1914, Duke Kahanamoku joined the team. Under Freeth's guidance, Duke improved both his free-style stroke and his open turns.[56] Although the 1916 Olympics were canceled due to World War I, Kahanamoku won two more gold medals when the games resumed in 1920. At that date, he was considered to be the world's greatest swimmer. Also taking medals in 1920 were two other athletes formerly coached by Freeth, Ludy Langer and Ray Kegeris.

Among Freeth's most important contributions while working at the LAAC were the articles he wrote for the club magazine, the *Mercury*. Influential subscribers read of his desire to create a year-round, professionally paid ocean lifeguard service. He also penned several articles on lifesaving and the need for local schools to incorporate swim lessons into the curriculum.

In 1915, the increasingly prominent San Diego Rowing Club approached Freeth to take charge of its expanding swim program. Much like the LAAC in Los Angeles, the membership of the Rowing Club included local politicians and civic leaders.[57] Freeth accepted the offer and relocated southward. Within two months he transformed the Rowing Club's

aquatic program to match what he had accomplished in Los Angeles. So successful were his efforts that by 1919, the club's once undistinguished swim team had become the pacesetter in California. During summer months, he supplemented his income by working as a swimming instructor and pool supervisor on Coronado Island, adjacent to the famous Hotel Del Coronado. He also gave spectacular diving performances, which were lauded by the local media. Despite his great reputation, he still struggled financially. His position worsened considerably when on September 14, 1916, the board of the Rowing Club voted not to continue his employment, owing to a shortage of funds.[58] The board did allow him to stay in the club's facilities when his financial situation deteriorated in the fall of 1917. Even that, however, proved temporary. Two days after Christmas the directors canceled Freeth's sleeping privileges and use of the captain's room at the club house.[59]

Faced with deepening financial difficulties over the winter months—a condition common to weather-dependent lifeguards—Freeth took a job at San Diego's Cycle and Arms Company, which was owned by a sympathetic Rowing Club member. He moved into the downtown Southern Hotel, and continued to work out at a nearby YMCA hotel in order to prepare himself for a rigorous summer season back on Coronado Island.

Freeth's position at the sporting goods store was certainly a disappointment for him. All of his life had been centered on the ocean. It was a medium in which he thrived and from which he had gained considerable fame. But as a salesperson, he lost much of the status he had enjoyed while working along the beaches of Venice and Redondo. No longer the captain of a local lifesaving corps or fully employed as a world-class swim coach, Freeth bided his time at the store while awaiting the return of summer, when he could once again showcase his lifesaving and surfing skills.

As he continued his sales work, Freeth witnessed firsthand the growing impact of World War I on the city of San Diego. In the spring of 1918 the U.S. Army began a crash program to enlist and train one million service personnel. Military bases throughout the area were quickly filled with combat trainees. Many of the new arrivals, when given leave, visited the region's scenic beaches. As the weather improved, thousands of servicemen could be found sunning themselves along the local shoreline.

On the first weekend of May 1918, San Diego was enveloped by a spring heat wave. Large crowds descended on the beaches, where lifeguard protection was minimal at best. On the first Sunday, strong rip currents began pulling off the shoreline of crowded Ocean Beach. Within view of thousands of spectators, several swimmers found themselves being dragged out to sea. Soon tiring, they began screaming for assistance. Without a professional lifesaving corps in place, the victims drowned. At the risk of their own lives, several military personnel went out into the treacherous surf to assist, only to suffer the same tragic fate of those whom they had sought to aid. When the disaster unfolded, thirteen men had lost their lives.

On Monday, May 6, shocked San Diegans, as well as military personnel, called for a full investigation into the deaths. At a quickly convened coroner's inquest, a twelve-member jury blamed the "unusual conditions of tide and currents prevailing on that day" for the thirteen drownings.[60] In truth, the tidal conditions on that section of beach were not at all unusual; it was and remains today an area subject to strong rip currents.

Promoters of Ocean Beach were well aware of their resort's inherent dangers. Fearing financial ruin, however, supporters continued to publicize the small town and its recreational amenities. In fact, just six days after the tragedy, the Ocean Beach Advertising Club announced a $2,000 buried-treasure hunt along the shoreline.[61] Publicists also advertised that new lifesaving measures were being implemented to provide complete safety for the swimming public. Chief among the changes made was the hiring of George Freeth as the area's lifeguard.

On May 19, 1918, Freeth was back at work and, ever resourceful, he brought with him his large tripod rescue reel. The "New Life-Saving Device" was given heavy publicity by *The San Diego Union*. To fur-

ther assist his work, Ocean Beach officials paid for a motorcycle and sidecar, which Freeth used as his emergency vehicle along the strand.

Now in the employ of the resort owners, Freeth not only provided lifeguarding services, but again demonstrated his surfing abilities to the crowds who visited the area's bustling boardwalk and crowded sands. One newspaper article reported:

> Four thousand beachgoers received a surprise and enjoyed a succession of thrills and healthy laughs yesterday at Ocean Beach when George Freeth, lifeguard, presented his unannounced surf board dive. Riding on the crest of the wave in the usual manner, Freeth suddenly leaped clearing the board by at least three feet, turned a somersault, regained his balance on the board again, then completed his stunt with a dive. The trick was a thriller, and evoked a storm of applause.[62]

By the summer of 1918, Freeth was at the top of his form. Large crowds flocked to the beach to enjoy his surfing exhibitions. More importantly, under his watchful eyes and those of the lifeguards he commanded, not a single swimmer drowned.[63]

As Freeth guided his crew through a successful summer season, local military officials contended with a severe base housing shortage. With the country fully involved in World War I, San Diego continued to be a leading training center for new recruits. It also became a major convalescent center for veterans injured in the conflict. When several bases filled beyond capacity, commanders were forced to house service personnel in local public buildings. In these overcrowded conditions, the spread of infectious disease became



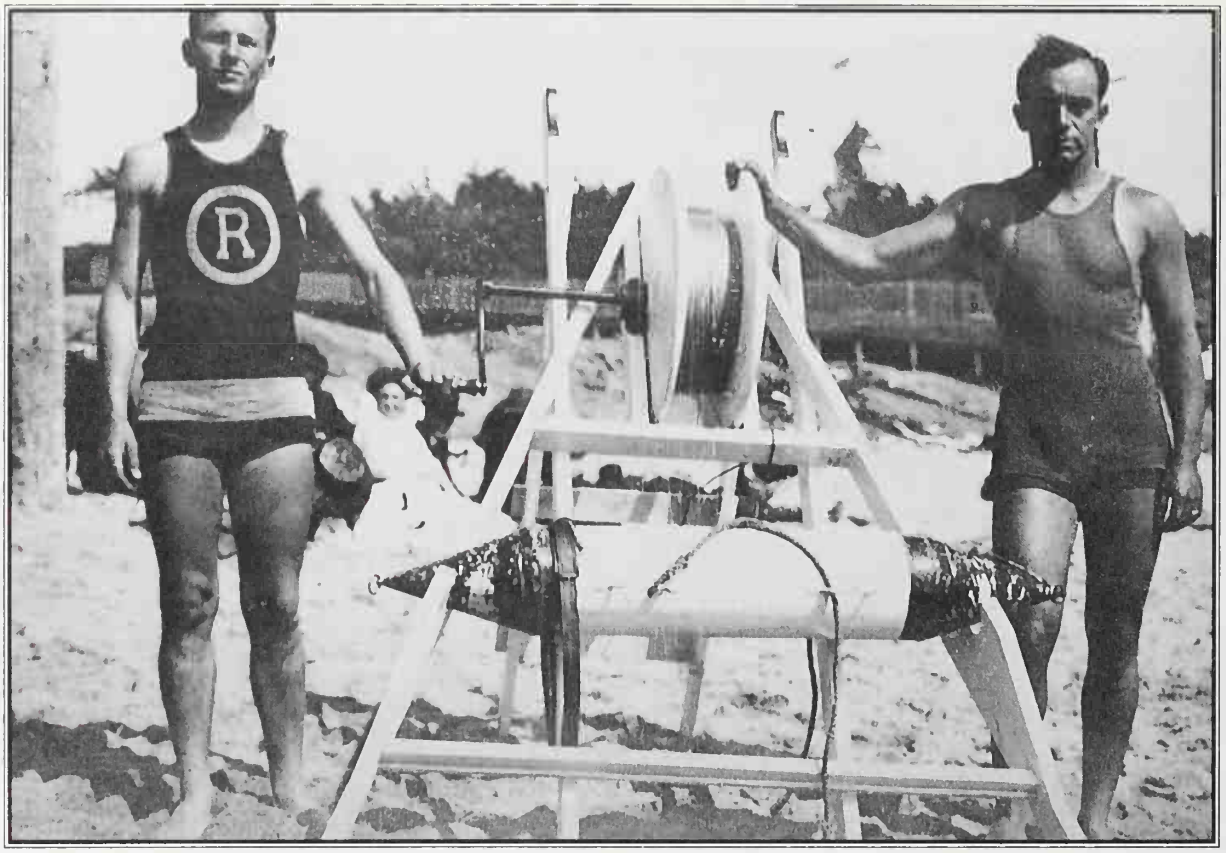
On Atlantic beaches, lifesaving involved time-consuming and arduous preparation including the donning of full-body gear prior to launching the craft originally conceived as a shipboard lifeboat. *Courtesy Arthur C. Verge.*



George Freeth encouraged the playing of water polo to condition members of the Venice Volunteer Lifesaving Corps for the rigors of ocean swimming. In 1908 after a game at the Venice Plunge, the team included Sherwood, the son of Venice founder Abbot Kinney, standing at right. Considered the best player of the game on the West Coast, Freeth is pictured with an injured ankle, seated second from right. *Courtesy the Kinney Family.*

increasingly commonplace, most notable of which was a new deadly strain of influenza. The subsequent Spanish Flu Epidemic of 1918 was the worst in the history of the United States. It killed more Americans in a single year than the combined United States combat deaths in two world wars. Globally it killed over twenty million people.[64]

The disease was particularly deadly for American servicemen. Over 40 percent of navy and 36 percent of army personnel became afflicted with it.[65] San



Later a world-record holder in swimming, Ludy Langer poses with Freeth and the Tripod Rescue Reel he invented. In use at Redondo Beach in 1912 in this photo, the ingenious device was a breakthrough in ocean lifesaving, allowing rescued swimmers to be reeled into shore after a lifeguard had swum out with the torpedo-shaped buoy. *Courtesy Los Angeles County Lifeguard Trust Fund, Witt Family Collection.*

Diego was especially hard hit because of the heavy concentration of servicemen. The virus also spread so quickly outside military bases there that three weeks before Christmas, health department officials enforced a city-wide quarantine.[66] But it was to little avail. Despite the widespread wearing of flu masks by the public, the crisis did not abate. In a cruel twist of fate, the virus often struck those in their prime of life: individuals in their twenties and thirties. On January 15, 1919, thirty-five-year-old Freeth contracted the disease.[67] In excellent shape before the onset of the malady, he weathered the first attacks of the virus. Often bedridden, and now unemployed, his financial situation grew steadily worse. To swimmers and lifesavers alike, word was sent up and down the California coast that he had taken ill with the virus. A collection was organized by his former employers at the San Diego Rowing Club and money for his support began to pour in.[68]

In late March of 1919, *The San Diego Union* reported that for the first time, the relapsed and hospitalized Freeth was encountering reverses in his recovery. Ludy Langer, who had just returned from fighting overseas, went to visit him. Officials of the Agnew Sanitarium where Freeth was undergoing treatment refused to admit him. However, Langer persevered and was allowed to see his ailing mentor. Langer recalled, "He was very ill and didn't say much." But,



Looking like "a brown Mercury (whose) heels are winged," as Jack London had called him years before in Hawaii, George Freeth aquaplaned with apparent effortlessness in September 1916 in San Diego. Just over two years later, Freeth became ill with Spanish influenza, the disease that took his life, as well as tens of thousands of others. *Courtesy San Diego Historical Society, Union-Tribune Collection.*

he added, when the two men talked "of the old days . . . once or twice I got a smile out of him."[69]

Late on the evening of April 7, 1919, Freeth died. News of his demise appeared in several leading California newspapers where obituaries recalled his lifesaving exploits and his prowess at swimming, diving, and surfing. A well-attended funeral was held five days later at a local mortuary chapel. Since the Freeth family was unable to travel from Hawaii, his mother's wishes to have George cremated and returned to his native Oahu were honored by the San Diego Rowing Club.[70]

When George Freeth first arrived in California he had little more than a suitcase with him. When he passed on, what he had in the way of worldly goods could be placed in the same suitcase. Freeth was never a man of money; instead he was a man of deeds.

Freeth's greatest virtue was his willingness and ability to teach and share the exceptional talents that he possessed. His generosity, integrity, and kindness influenced all of those around him. In an age when the ocean was to be feared and avoided, George Freeth introduced surfing to southern California. To the delight of large crowds gathered along local beaches, Freeth demonstrated the sport that he would later gladly teach, without pay, to area youngsters. It was from these warm California coastal waters that surfing would ultimately gain its greatest appeal amongst the American masses.

Freeth also worked diligently to teach and popularize the aquatic sports of swimming, water polo, and diving. His legendary status in each of these activities did not prevent him from sharing his know-how and imparting his skills to his students, including several divers and swimmers who achieved national and international prominence.

Freeth's greatest impact on California, however, remains his instrumental role in revolutionizing the profession of ocean lifesaving. Before his arrival, a few volunteer lifesavers utilized ocean safety skills that focused on the use of lifeboats and rowing crews to save individuals from drowning. Adapting to changing times, local conditions, and new technologies, Freeth preached and practiced the importance of quick action to carry out rescues. As importantly, and as a lasting legacy, many of the young swimmers under his guidance became the future nucleus of today's ocean lifeguard services in California. As a result of Freeth's innovations and the standards he established, drownings on modern guarded beaches in California have become extremely rare.

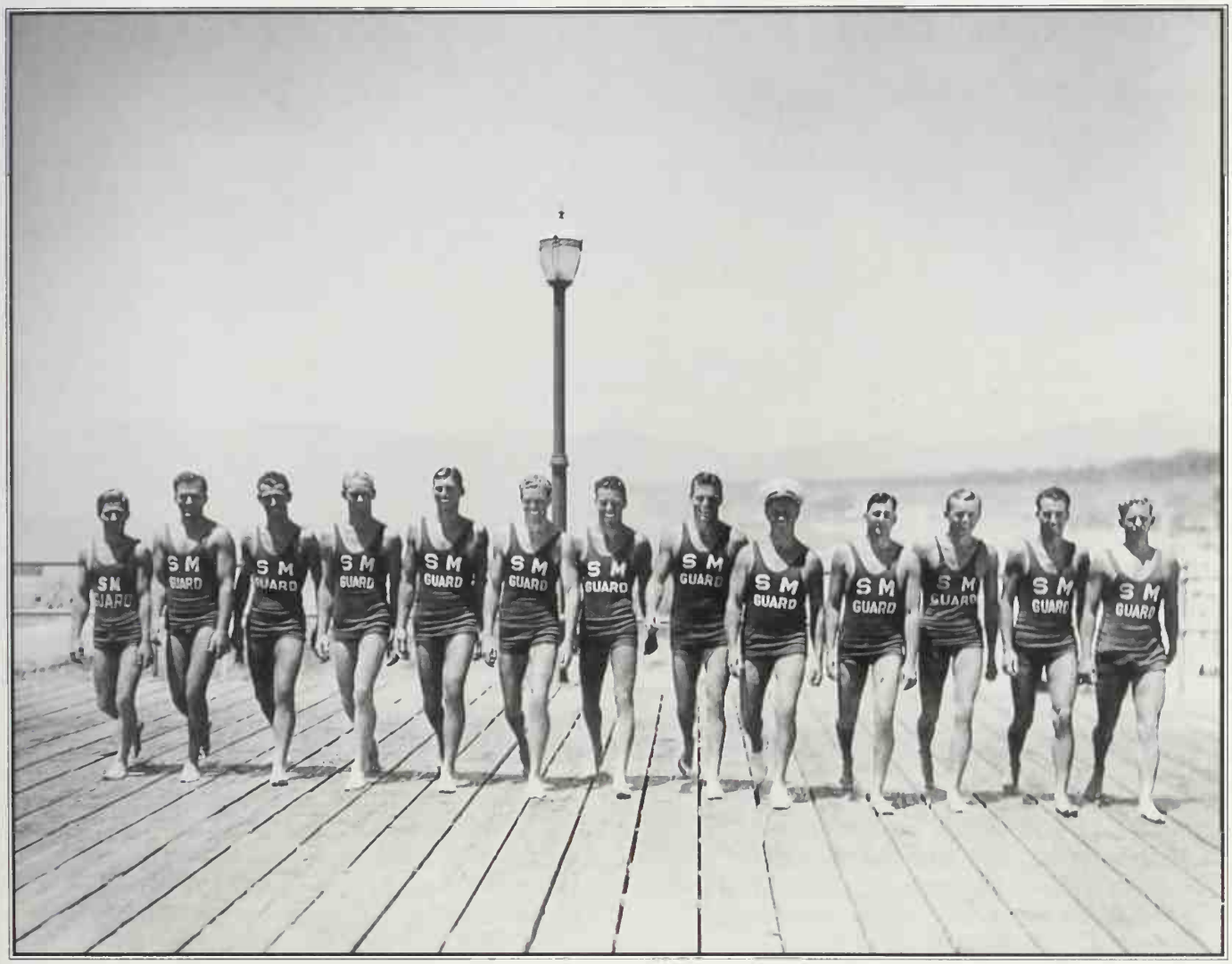
Although George Freeth's "passage," as Hawaiians call the period between birth and death, was short, it was nonetheless full. From the shores of Hawaii to the sands of California, George Freeth touched thousands of lives for the better. Fulfilling the true calling of a hero, he repeatedly risked his own life so that others could live. His individual courage and personal actions on behalf of those in great danger stand as a final testament to a true, but often forgotten, hero of California history.

Jack London, with his typewriter, first brought George Freeth to the world's attention. He penned these prophetic words that would apply not only to his own short life, but also to that of his Hawaiian friend:

> I would rather be ashes than dust. I would rather that my spark should burn out in a brilliant blaze than it be stifled by dry rot. I would rather be a superb meteor, every atom of me in magnificent glow, than a sleepy and permanent planet. The proper function of man is to live, not to exist. CHS

See notes beginning on page 153.

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George Freeth left a legacy of innovation for lifeguarding in southern California. Only in the 1920s and 1930s did municipalities provide payment for the services that Freeth and his volunteers had pioneered. In 1933, the Santa Monica Lifeguards were led by "Cap" Watkins (wearing the white captain's hat), who had played water polo with Freeth. To his right is the smiling Hawaiian swimming star and Olympic gold-medal winner, Buster Crabbe. *Courtesy Los Angeles County Lifeguard Trust Fund, Bob Sears Collection.*

Eternal Light

Visions of Gottardo Piazzoni

by Scott A. Shields

When asked, "And what is your religion?" artist Gottardo Fidele Ponziano Piazzoni (1872–1945) hesitated, then replied, "I think it is California."[1] Piazzoni's statement summarizes the essence of his landscape painting. Through his unique reductive style, Piazzoni extracted nature's underlying spirit. He portrayed the earth's elemental forms—land, sky, and sea—and invested them with an eternity and vastness that makes humanity by comparison seem transient and inconsequential. His landscapes are reduced to large flat expanses of subdued color, simultaneously evoking the old masters and his contemporaries, and even foreshadowing minimalist abstraction yet to come. Piazzoni's paintings can be, and have been, described as poetic, symbolist, tonal, mystical, and transcendental. They communicate the artist's interest in modernity, in literature, in suggesting nature's moods, and his kinship with, and reverence for, California.

Of Swiss-Italian heritage, Piazzoni was born and spent much of his boyhood in Intragna, Switzerland. He moved to the Carmel Valley with his mother and brother in 1887, joining his father on the ranch he had established there. His adopted home became his primary subject and muse. By his own admission, whether he was painting a landscape, a symbolic work, or figurative piece, he was always endeavoring to express the spirit of California.[2]

Piazzoni's 1914 painting *Lux Aeterna* [fig. 1] is one of his best known and most representative works. Produced at the peak of Piazzoni's career as an easel painter, it depicts a robed figure kneeling in prayer in a simplified landscape with luminous sky, from which Piazzoni derives the "eternal light" of the painting's title. It manifests Piazzoni's stated religion, California, and expresses his transcendental belief in the divinity of nature's forms and forces. It combines his favored genres—at once being a landscape, a symbolic painting, and a figure work—and also expresses a spirit of place. In Piazzoni's only biography, *Lux Aeterna* was singled out as epitomizing the desires of Piazzoni's life and the goals of his painting—"that of flooding the white-robed figure of truth and beauty, in the effulgence of eternal light."[3]

By examining the motives, influences, and inspirations for this and other Piazzoni paintings, some that seem more enigmatic or symbolic than literally described, one is able to gain insight into Piazzoni's entire oeuvre. This essay undertakes that challenge. While the majority of his paintings describe a sense of place and the distinctiveness of the California landscape, his paintings always expressed more than nature's physiognomy. In addition, there are those paintings consciously intended to express symbolic meaning. These works, many of which were created rather early in Piazzoni's career, reveal the forces that shaped him as an artist, including his artistic training, his kinship with other artists—both visual and literary—in the Bay Area, his interest in and acceptance of transcendental beliefs, and his knowledge of literature, particularly Dante. Recognizing and understanding these forces, especially as expressed in several paintings treated in this essay, can help inform Piazzoni's entire body of art.

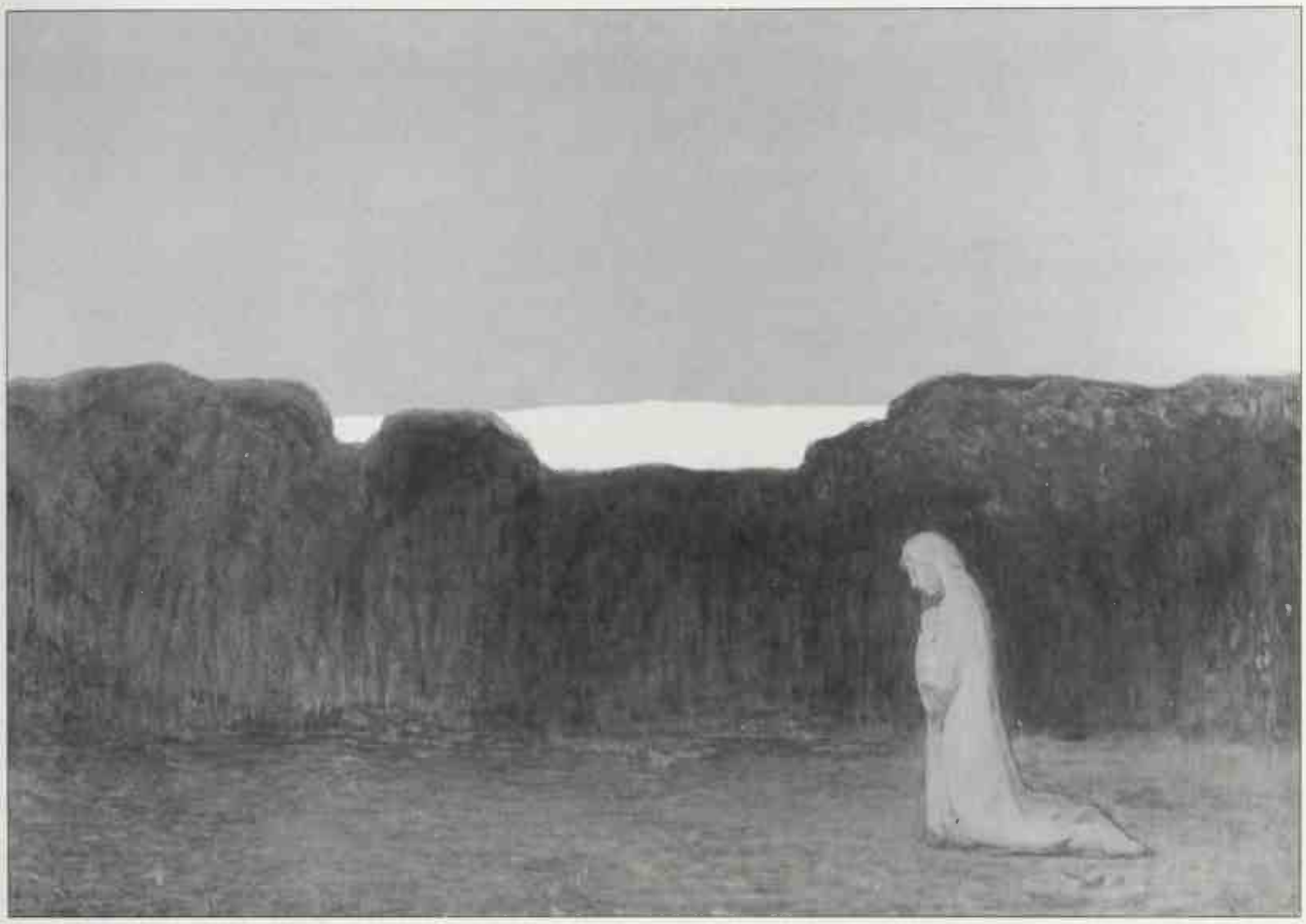


FIGURE 1: Gottardo Piazzoni (1872-1945), *Lux Aeterna*, 1914, oil on canvas, 41 3/4 by 60 1/16 in. *Courtesy Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, Gift in Memory of Ethel A. Voorsanger by her Friends through the Patrons of Art and Music.*

As one of California's leading Tonalists—and at times Symbolists—Piazzoni was concerned with painting as an abstraction from nature and not a literal transcription. Editing nature to its most expressive elements, he simplified his compositions in iconography and color, and heightened mood through atmosphere and light. More reductive than most of his California contemporaries, Piazzoni used Tonalism as a means towards modernism, reducing his compositions to the essentials. He utilized the flat, patterned shapes prevalent in Japanese art, Art Nouveau, and that of the Nabis, and coupled this with the evocative moods and quiet poetry found in Symbolist art and literature. Such advancements were not initially met with universal acclaim. In 1905, critic Laura Bride Powers described Piazzoni's work as ". . . straining after the weird in art, a sort of faddism, but it is saved by a decorative quality, when seen from a distance."[4]

Like much of his painting, Piazzoni was soft-spoken and unassuming. His gentleness was much remarked upon, and he was described as the "most

dearly beloved member" among the San Francisco art community.[5] The press also commented frequently on his Bohemian appearance. San Francisco critic Alfred Frankenstein recalled long after the artist's death, "All the old-timers in the local art community remember Gottardo Piazzoni, the little man with the pork pie hat, the big gray mustache and the flowing diaphanous tie. He was the gentlest man I ever knew."[6] Such attire, however, was typical of California artists. In fact, it was a joke among artists and writers in Carmel that it was "impossible to be a genius without a necktie that looks like a fat woman's sash."[7] Although Piazzoni assumed the dress of an artist, and had a studio in San Francisco's art center—the Montgomery Block Building—his character was decidedly less raucous than many artists with studios on the "Monkey Block."

It was his groundedness both in emotion and, literally, in art, that made him a favorite of his peers. Friends affectionately called him "Poz" or "Piazz," and in the late 1920s, when it came time to select a painter to create the murals for the new San Francisco Public Library, the artists of San Francisco agreed that Piazzoni—by then one of the grand old men of California art—was the only artist who could and should paint these murals.[8]

Dubbed "dean of San Francisco painters" by artists and press, Piazzoni's Janus-like approach grew to enjoy the respect of both conservatives and modernists, recalling tradition while seeming to foreshadow the future. His representational vision of California with its emphasis on the land was championed by conservative artists, while his extreme reduction and simplification of form appealed to the modernists. Moreover, Piazzoni himself accepted artists of both camps and embraced even the period's most advanced painting styles. He stated: "I strongly believe in any movement that makes for the advancement of art and the development of individuality. Especially am I interested in Futurism. . . ."[9]

Piazzoni's eternally still landscapes seem far removed from the dynamism of the Futurists, however, and equally distant from the development of other very progressive styles such as Cubism. While some Bay Area artists such as the Society of Six would embrace Post-Impressionist techniques and color in the 1920s, few California artists in the first decades of the century were wont to experiment with more revolutionary styles.[10] California painters at this time were primarily landscapists, and in this genre Piazzoni was considered one of the most avant-garde. Well into the century Piazzoni was considered one of San Francisco's most modern artists, a case in point being his 1928 designation as one of the "radical" jurors for the annual exhibition of the Oakland Art Gallery, an exhibition in which other jurors were considered only "conservative" or "progressive."[11] Piazzoni's paintings achieved their "radical" status well before the twenties, however, and some of the most modern of his mature paintings date from very early in the century. His painting *Winter* from 1903, for instance, seems only one step away from the minimal abstractions of an artist like Mark Rothko. *Winter* is an extreme reduction of land and sky relieved only by a valley in the land and a band of light glowing beyond the horizon. *Winter* has no narrative or figures, and yet it is able to communicate the essence of California—its vastness, its topography, and its color.

Piazzoni was the "recognized leader of Californian painting" by younger artists.[12] His acclaim derived in part from his skill as a teacher, especially from those who studied with him. He spent much of his active career teaching, both privately and in public institutions such as the California School of Fine Arts. His sharp mind and rich background fascinated his students and provided him with a mastery of several languages as well as a vivid literary and artistic inheritance that he communicated to his students. Sculptor Ralph Stackpole later recalled, "He used to tell us about the masters, about Giotto, about Dante, about Europe and art life in Paris and we listened with amazement."[13]

Piazzoni has frequently been labeled a mystic. He perceived nature and the landscape as the embodiment of God, and in his paintings he sought a communion with both, yet he was not religious in the doctrinaire sense. His family was Roman Catholic and he had attended church regularly when a boy in Switzerland, but later in life went to church only on Easter Sunday at the Mission San Carlos Borromeo del Rio Carmelo in Carmel.[14] Piazzoni's reli-



FIGURE 2: Cuno Amiet, *Winter*, 1904. From Cuno Amiet, Giovanni Giacometti, Augusto Giacometti, Three Swiss Painters: An Exhibition Organized by the Museum of Art, The Pennsylvania State University, under the patronage of His Excellency Felix Schnyder, Ambassador of Switzerland, and the Pro Helvetia Foundation, Selection and Catalogue by George Mauner, 1973.

gion was not to be found indoors, but in nature. "He appreciated everything about nature," his daughter recalled.[15] For Piazzoni, nature, like his lapsed Catholicism, could be the source of powerful ritual. It is still something of a family legend that he knew and celebrated the exact moment of the full moon.

> He knew exactly where the moon would be coming up, and we'd sit there and wait, and wait for the moon. And pretty soon you'd see the light. There was nothing to disturb this moon and the light would start coming up behind the hill . . . the more we could see the moon the more we'd yell and scream till the whole moon would show, and then we'd clap, and yell, and scream—hooray, hooray![16]

Piazzoni's letters contain numerous references to the beauty of the California landscape and the inspiration he received from it. In one of his letters he referred to California as "the Queen of all lands"[17] and in another he mentioned his desire for further European travel and then quickly recanted: "I think back to the hills—Oh California! how can one ever leave you."[18]

Piazzoni's predecessors and contemporaries shared his infatuation with the unique and diverse terrain of California. The miles of golden hillsides, the monoliths of the Sierra, the giant-redwood forests, the thick fog around San Francisco Bay, and the limitless expanse of the Pacific offered no shortage of



FIGURE 3: Gottardo Piazzoni, *Silence*, ca. 1912, oil on panel, 25 1/2 by 31 3/8 in.
Courtesy Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, Museum Purchase, Skae Fund Legacy.

scenic vistas, helping to make landscape the primary genre in Bay Area painting. The area's topography had a profound effect upon the artistic imagination, leading a 1918 exhibition catalogue to proclaim that the vastness of scale, "upon which the Californian gazes from birth, give him a bigness of vision that visualizes things and events in their entirety."[19]

Piazzoni's vision was hailed as particularly faithful to the area's terrain, expressing its spirit if not always its exact geography. "What I am willing & eager to do," he said, is "to leave behind in form & color all I know of California."[20] Critics, dealers, and other artists responded to what Piazzoni knew of California and agreed that "rarely, if ever, has the unique individual character of the State been more faithfully and poetically rendered."[21] Another declared, "He seems to caress the velvety brown hills with his brush. His canvasses preach the intimate beauty of the canyons, the poetic rhythm of the skylines, the solemnity of trees in starlit nights."[22]

Piazzoni's canvases do indeed seem to preach his reverence for the state, and in the late nineteenth and

early twentieth centuries California landscape artists in general were concerning themselves more and more with "the inner essence of reality, less and less with merely its outward forms."[23] As industrialization tamed the eastern landscape, the West, and especially California, seemed a final vestige of untrammeled wilderness, a natural paradise where one might sense the Divine. Piazzoni and many other California artists of the period, including Xavier Martinez, Arthur Mathews, and Charles Rollo Peters, have lately been labeled California Tonalists, so-called because of their close color values, muted tones, and frequent nocturnal scenes.[24] In their own time these artists most often called themselves "American Luminists."[25] Luminism, as it has been applied to nineteenth-century East Coast artists, is linked with a transcendental and eternal sense of the Divine evoked through lighting effects. As the Luminist landscapes could embody spiritual meaning, so too did painters around San Francisco and Monterey seek to express the spiritual over the physical.[26]

Transcendentalism was being nationally reappreciated in the years after the turn of the century and Piazzoni, along with many other California artists, especially those categorizing their paintings as "Luminist," contributed to America's transcendental legacy in writing and landscape painting.[27] While Transcendentalism began as a New England phenomenon in the late 1830s, its tenets of unification between man and nature, and the experience of the land as a manifestation of the Divine, seemed particularly apropos for the Bay Area artist living amidst glorious scenery and abundant wilderness.

Those who knew Piazzoni and his work—friends, critics, family members, and other artists—all recognized in his paintings an element of the mystical and Divine, and none would have argued that he sought only a literal transcription of nature. The artist Eugen Neuhaus declared, "His work has spiritual depth,"[28] while a critic sensed in his paintings "that mystic, subtle beauty that veils the infinite soul of Nature."[29] Piazzoni's grandson, artist Russell Chatham, would later explain that "Piazzoni viewed the landscape in its broadest and most complex sense. He applied to it the fifth dimension, God's voice, so that each work has in it a gesture of life."[30]



Gottardo Piazzoni, ca. 1910.
California Historical Society, FN-32630.

Even early in Piazzoni's career, Josephine Blanch, manager of the Del Monte hotel gallery and the artist's good friend recognized:

> It is not the outward garb that Nature wears that attracts him, but the underlying spirit or elemental force of Nature that his pictures reveal, its vastness, its silent voice, and above all its perfect peace—one stands silent and prayerful before them.[31]

Artists and writers in California felt a sense of pride in their landscape—young and fresh in comparison with the rest of the country. These sentiments were particularly strong in the state because of the influence of native Transcendentalist and defender of the

Sierra wilderness John Muir. Muir, even though he admired Thoreau greatly, mocked the notion presented in Thoreau's *Walking* that there could be found anything "wild" in the area around Concord, Massachusetts. "Wilderness," the word Muir used in his own writing, was embodied in the majesty of the Sierra, not in New England.[32] Piazzoni himself described California as "big & noble, it is God's creation, nature Young, a spoiled child, but something to be done here, yes a future a great Future."[33]

Muir was distrustful of the growth of California and inspired the conservation movement. On his mantel Muir displayed portraits of his mentors Ralph Waldo Emerson and Henry David Thoreau,[34] and like them he recognized the landscape, in his case the California wilderness, as a manifestation of divinity. Muir said of California's Hetch Hetchy Valley that "no holier temple has ever been consecrated by the heart of man,"[35] and he ruminated about renaming the Sierra the "Range of Light."[36]

California artists, writers, and critics seized upon Muir's ideas. English-born California painter Arthur Atkins, for example, an artist whose promise was tragically cut short by an early death in 1899, was tremendously influential to Piazzoni both in his painting style and in his ideas. When Atkins, who came to California as a youth, was in the midst of the California landscape he felt, as Piazzoni did, "conscious of my own littleness."[37] His philosophy of painting dovetailed with Piazzoni's own. "What makes a great painting," he said, "is not brilliancy of handling, or the complete rendering of surfaces, but the seizing and holding of some element of that divine beauty which all things possess in some degree."[38] This surely affirmed Piazzoni's belief that without religion there can be no great art. The California landscape in particular, because modern industrialism and commercialism had not yet affected California "so sorely as they have many other states," could still manifest the Divine.[39] A 1916 essay issued a call to those artists tempted to stray from nature's inspiration by stating that art must

> put aside its dreary, tortuous intellectualism and the blighting madness of self-deification, and turn its eyes once again to the stars, to the great mountains, and to the sea, not merely for their own sakes, but because, real and actual as they are, they are but symbols of divine realities.[40]

The presence of Emanuel Swedenborg's mystical ideas in the Bay Area was also particularly strong, providing artists with a slightly different, yet similarly manifest belief that divine ideas could be reflected in the physical world. Swedenborg's philosophical writings, expressing his belief in a unification of body and soul, the inseparability of the natural world and the spiritual world, as well as the ubiquity of God were all very influential. For Californians, these ideas were disseminated largely through the example set by Scotish-born William Keith, the most influential artist in California at the turn of the century.[41] Keith's acquaintance with American painter George Inness, a fellow Swedenborgian, and his friendship with the Reverend Joseph Worcester of San Francisco's Swedenborgian church, would both have a profound effect on his painting. Inness, who lived in New York, visited San Francisco in 1891 and worked in Keith's studio.[42] The two went on painting trips together and Keith's own landscapes were deeply affected by the eastern painter's close-value color harmonies and moody atmospheric effects. Much has been made concerning the consequence of the Swedenborgian faith on Inness, and it was similarly influential to Keith.[43]

Piazzoni knew Keith and admired his paintings. He also was well acquainted with the San Francisco Swedenborgian church, both through Keith and through his close friend Bruce Porter. Like Keith, who painted murals in the sanctuary, Porter was responsible for designing decorations for the new church, including the stained glass windows. One of Swedenborg's main precepts was the doctrine of "correspondences," wherein the physical world is considered a reflection of the divine idea behind it.[44] Keith's later paintings depicting dark, moody groves of trees and tranquil pools may have consciously sought such correspondences. Keith explained, "What a landscape painter wants to render is not the natural landscape, but the state of feeling which the landscape produces in himself."[45] There is no question that Piazzoni understood the essence of Keith's painting and its spiritual inspiration. In an article

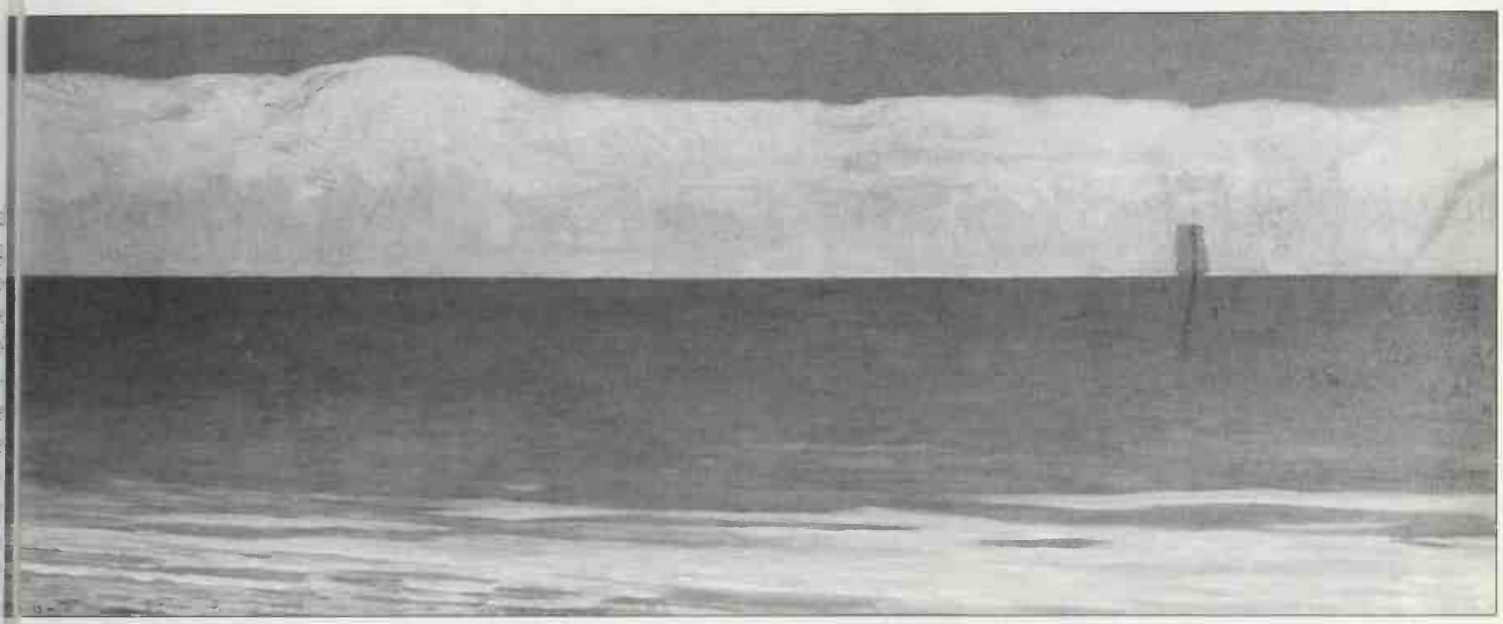


FIGURE 4: Gottardo Piazzoni, *The Sea*, 1915, oil on canvas mounted on board, 48 by 124 in.
Courtesy University of California, Berkeley Art Museum; gift of Helen and Ansley Salz. Photograph by Benjamin Blackwell.

concerning Keith, Piazzoni waxed that Keith "sang his prayer in sunlight and shadow, springtime and storm and the coming of the moon."[46]

Just as Inness's influence was transmitted to many California artists via Keith, so were many of American expatriate artist James McNeill Whistler's precepts disseminated through California artist Arthur Mathews.[47] Whistler's emphasis on "art for art's sake," his nocturnes, and his unabashedly decorative paintings were all assimilated by Mathews and transferred to his many students. Piazzoni was one of those, enrolled at the California School of Design where Mathews was teaching. The tonal qualities of Piazzoni's paintings are found in paintings by many artists of the period, and were largely inspired by Mathews and the masters he championed.

Mathews's own work was reliant not only upon Whistler but also on Whistler's French contemporary, Pierre Puvis de Chavannes. Mathews considered both of these artists "decorative" without the derision or apologies that the term often connotes today. Mathews himself is today considered the master of the California Decorative Style, producing not only easel paintings and murals, but also frames, furniture, and publications in partnership with his wife, Lucia.[48] His easel paintings emphasized low-key, close-value colors of a dominant hue, as did his murals; and like Puvis, he believed murals should harmonize with, rather than detract from the architectural interiors they embellished.

Like his teacher, Piazzoni painted many murals—most famously those for the San Francisco Public Library—and often referred to his easel paintings as decoration. Piazzoni was also inspired by Puvis, and shared the French artist's belief that a painting, especially a mural, should lie flat on the wall in unison with the architecture of the building.[49] Piazzoni commented that "Puvis has done it in a big way & his decorations are to be seen as a whole regardless whether they are trees figures or houses & no doubt he could have done just as great decorations in pure landscape. For my part I have little feeling for figures."[50] The essence of Piazzoni's statement is realized in an early, highly abstract, nearly monochromatic, painting of a boat. Both in terms of its composition and in its flattened landscape elements, it is similar to Puvis's famous painting *The Poor Fisherman* (ca. 1887–92), which Piazzoni's daughter remembers as one of his

favorite works.[51] Piazzoni went a step beyond Puvis, however, and eliminated the figures and the narrative to concentrate only on the formal relationship of the boat in its setting.

In 1895, after his initial training at the California School of Design, Piazzoni went to Paris to study at the Académie Julian under Benjamin Constant, Henri Martin, and Paul Laurens. There was a frequent exchange of students between the California School of Design and the Académie Julian, and California artists were encouraged to study in Paris. Piazzoni enrolled at the Académie with another of Mathews's students, Maurice Del Mue, his friend and future brother-in-law. After a year there, Piazzoni began training at the Parisian Écolé des Beaux-Arts with Jean-Léon Gérôme, whose style had seemingly little influence on Piazzoni's own. He studied with the academic master until 1898, when he returned home to assist in running the family ranch in Carmel Valley after the death of his mother and brother Massimo. In 1900, Piazzoni went abroad once again, accompanying his father and younger siblings to Intragna and then went on to Paris. He returned to San Francisco the following year.

In May 1902, Piazzoni, along with Maynard Dixon, Xavier Martinez, and others, assembled a group called the California Society of Artists, which organized an independent show apart from the San Francisco Art Association's (SFAA) annual exhibition. The group claimed that their former instructor, Arthur Mathews, was biased in his judging of the association's shows, and they advocated wider representation of artists and recognition of more progressive movements. While Mathews publicly pledged his support for the endeavor, and Piazzoni admired Mathews's painting throughout his career, references to Mathews in Piazzoni's letters suggest that henceforth the two had a formal, and not overly congenial, relationship.[52]

Even so, the decorative influence of Mathews remained strong in Piazzoni's work, as did the flat classical murals of Puvis. However, Piazzoni also never forgot his Swiss-Italian heritage and his youth spent amidst the Alpine foothills of Switzerland. He kept abreast of Swiss and Italian developments throughout his career, and often there are parallels between his own reductive landscapes and those of Swiss artists working at the same time, such as Ferdinand Hodler, Cuno Amiet, and Giovanni Giacometti. Piazzoni also cited the Italian Symbolist artist Giovanni Segantini as particularly important in his development, and his influence is evident both in Piazzoni's choice of subjects, and in the divisionist, stitch-like technique of Piazzoni's more painterly impressionist works. Piazzoni's *End of the Day*, of 1903, for example, a much acclaimed early work, depicts a sheepherder driving home his flock as night begins to fall. Its subject, symbolist mood, and vastness of composition all seem directly inspired by Segantini's paintings of shepherds and sheep, especially *Piccole pecore* (*The Shepherdess*), 1888. Most obviously, both paintings share the same theme, but while Segantini presents an Italian shepherd girl and setting, Piazzoni depicts a California rancher driving his flocks up over one of the region's quintessentially golden hills.

As in California, nature was heralded as Switzerland's greatest asset. In nearly every Swiss text on painting from the nineteenth century, painters are urged to look to the landscape and to nature for inspiration.[53] Moreover, the period between 1890 and 1910 was a particularly important one in Swiss painting. Segantini spent the last thirteen years of his life in Switzerland and exerted a strong influence on native-Swiss painters, just as he had on Piazzoni. Artists Hodler, Amiet, and Giacometti each painted landscapes with a vastness of vision that seems quintessentially Swiss, a vision that Piazzoni seems to have applied to California.

At his most progressive, Piazzoni could precede the Swiss. While Cuno Amiet would not have known Piazzoni's *Winter*, 1903, his own painting *Winter* [fig. 2], completed the following year, is amazingly similar. Both paintings are powerfully reductive, sharing an emphasis on the flattened space of the hillside, and in both one is conscious of one's own littleness—literally in Amiet's and by implication in Piazzoni's. While the two paintings each depict winter, again Piazzoni's is typically Californian. For while Amiet's Swiss landscape is buried in snow, Piazzoni's presents the golden-brown hills around

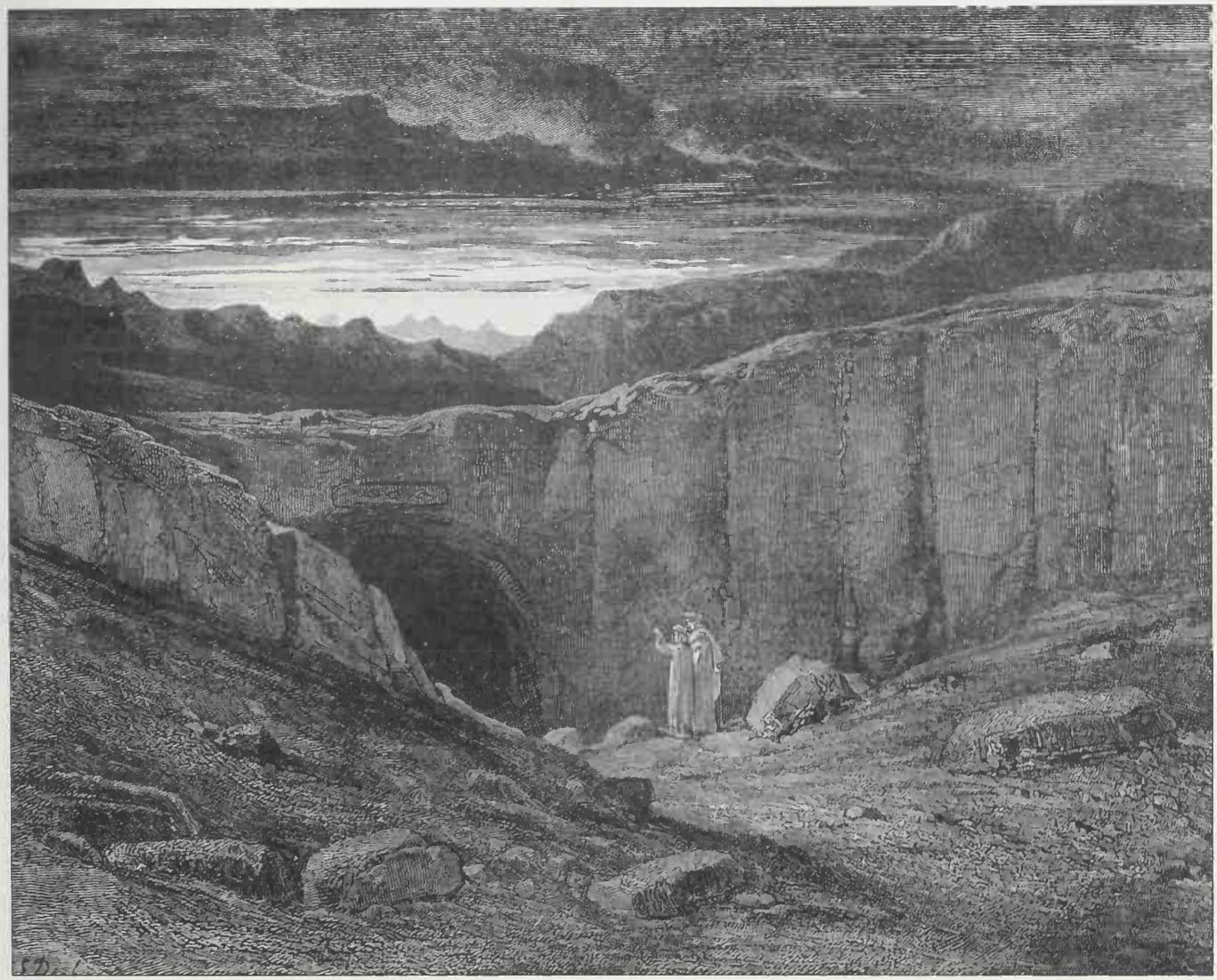


FIGURE 5: Gustave Doré, *The Gate of Hell*, ca. 1861, etching.
In Dante Alighieri, *The Divine Comedy* (Dover Publications, Inc., New York, 1976.)

San Francisco just beginning to hint of winter green.

In late 1905, Piazzoni and his new bride, Beatrice Del Mue, left for Europe. The couple traveled with California animal sculptor Arthur Putnam and his wife, Grace. The group went first to Rome, then Switzerland, and then on to Paris. Putnam and Piazzoni were close friends. They shared a San Francisco studio, and had been contemplating their excursion to Europe for some time. The two couples lived for a year in Rome, and for part of this time they stayed at the home of Piazzoni's friend Giacomo Balla, a symbolist artist and later a significant Futurist painter. At the time the California artists were in Rome, Balla's work, particularly his landscapes, was much more similar to Piazzoni's in subject matter and simplicity of conception than to the Futurist school that would later characterize it. Balla's own lifelong motto, "Simplicity is the basis

of beauty,"[54] was a dictum to which Piazzoni also adhered.

While the Putnams and the Piazzonis were in Rome, San Francisco was devastated by the earthquake of April 18, 1906. The two American couples were led to believe from reports in Italian newspapers that San Francisco had been wiped off the map. They did not return home until the following year.[55] Damage from the earthquake and resulting fires was indeed severe, and many San Francisco artists were forced to relocate, either because their studios had been destroyed or the demand for existing property soon drove up rent prices and forced bohemian artists to seek cheaper studio space. Some went to the Monterey Peninsula, which, with the artists and writers already located there, was becoming a thriving art colony. Piazzoni, who had spent the later part of his youth at the family ranch in Carmel Valley, became a frequent presence there after his return from Europe, offering encouragement and support to the coastal art scene.

A vitally important center for the burgeoning group of artists on the peninsula, as well as for San Francisco artists whose exhibition venues had been eliminated, was an art gallery housed in the Hotel Del Monte. The manager of the Pacific Improvement Company, A. D. Shepard, conceived the idea of a gallery devoted solely to the work of California artists and entrusted its development to a group of creative spirits including *Sunset* magazine editor Charles Aiken, photographer Dr. Arnold Genthe, graphic artist and writer Porter Garnett, and painters Eugen Neuhaus, Charles Rollo Peters, Xavier Martinez, and Harry Stuart Fonda.[56] Because he was still in Europe, Piazzoni missed the grand opening festivities of April 20, 1907, but he became a frequent exhibitor later that year and also began serving on the gallery's exhibition committee. He was particularly close to the gallery's second manager, Josephine Blanch, acting as her spiritual guide and helping her to maintain the high standards of the gallery.[57]

Many of the artists who exhibited at the Del Monte gallery worked in a similar style and were nicknamed the "Barbizons of California," recalling the internationally acclaimed Barbizon school in France.[58] Artists around the peninsula worked in close cooperation, mutually influencing each other. As in San Francisco, the sense of artistic community in Carmel and Monterey was not limited to visual works. Here, poets and painters revealed aesthetic affinities. The mystical, moody, tonal landscapes of the sort produced by the California Barbizon artists seemed inspired by, and reflected in, much of the verse produced in the same period and locale.

Poet George Sterling, a central figure in Carmel and among the Bay Area Bohemians, especially embodied this marriage of language and palette. His early work, *The Testimony of the Suns and Other Poems*, published in 1903, occasioned considerable excitement in the Bay Area and has been considered one of the earliest naturalist poems in America.[59] Sterling was instrumental in founding the art colony in Carmel, moving there in 1905, the year before the earthquake. He knew many painters in the area and was particularly close to Xavier Martinez whom he knew well from his days in Piedmont, and also Charles Rollo Peters, whom he visited frequently in Monterey.

Piazzoni and Sterling were also well acquainted. In addition to their association at the Bohemian Club, Piazzoni mentioned Sterling in his letters, photographs included both men, and the two had many mutual friends. While their personalities were decidedly different—Sterling loved a good party and was an infamous carouser while Piazzoni was quiet and retiring—their respective arts were often analogous in subject and mood. Sterling's poetry expressed an atmosphere of quiet beauty with melancholy overtones. His portrayal of nature was generally not descriptive and objective but instead served as a point of departure into the subjective and the visionary.[60] Like Piazzoni, he could achieve a sense of place in even his most symbolic poems. Carmel became Sterling's "Walden," just as California was, more broadly, for Piazzoni. "What George Sterling has done for California in verse," said a writer in 1924, "he [Piazzoni] has done for her on canvas."[61]

Sterling's poetry and Piazzoni's paintings paralleled in vision and were often coincident in date. At times, Piazzoni's titles were even to be found within the poet's verse. Sterling's poem "Moonlight in the

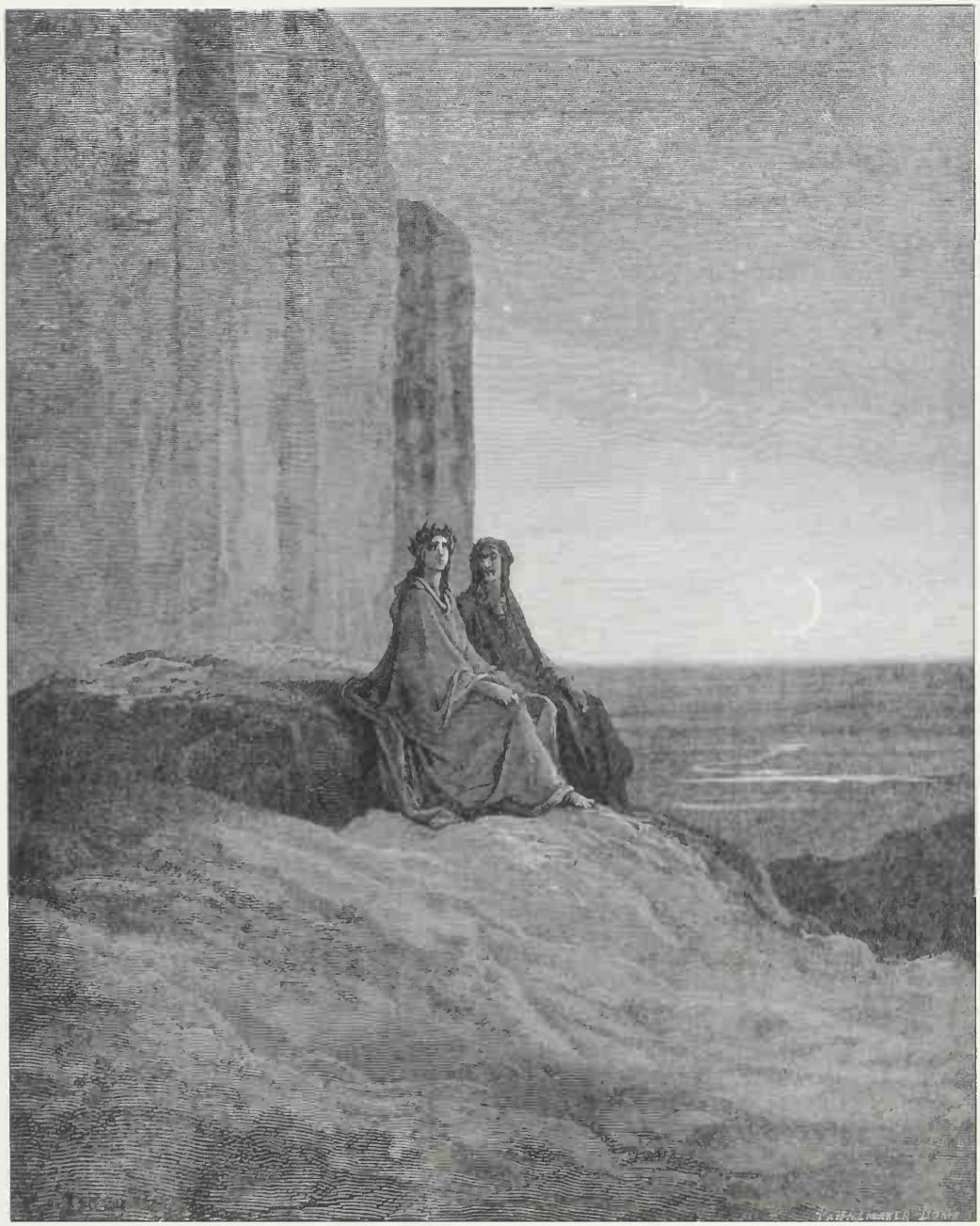


FIGURE 6: Gustave Doré, *Twilight*, ca. 1868, etching. In Dante Alighieri, *The Divine Comedy* (Dover Publications, Inc., New York, 1976.)

Pines," published in 1911, for instance, may have partially inspired Piazzoni's painting titled *Silence* [fig. 3], painted in the same or following year. Piazzoni's painting depicts two small nude female figures in the midst of an Arcadian, although specifically Californian, landscape with trees and a tranquil pool. A golden hill rises up in the background and the sky above is suffused with a golden light. An aura of mystery pervades the scene, as Sterling wrote:

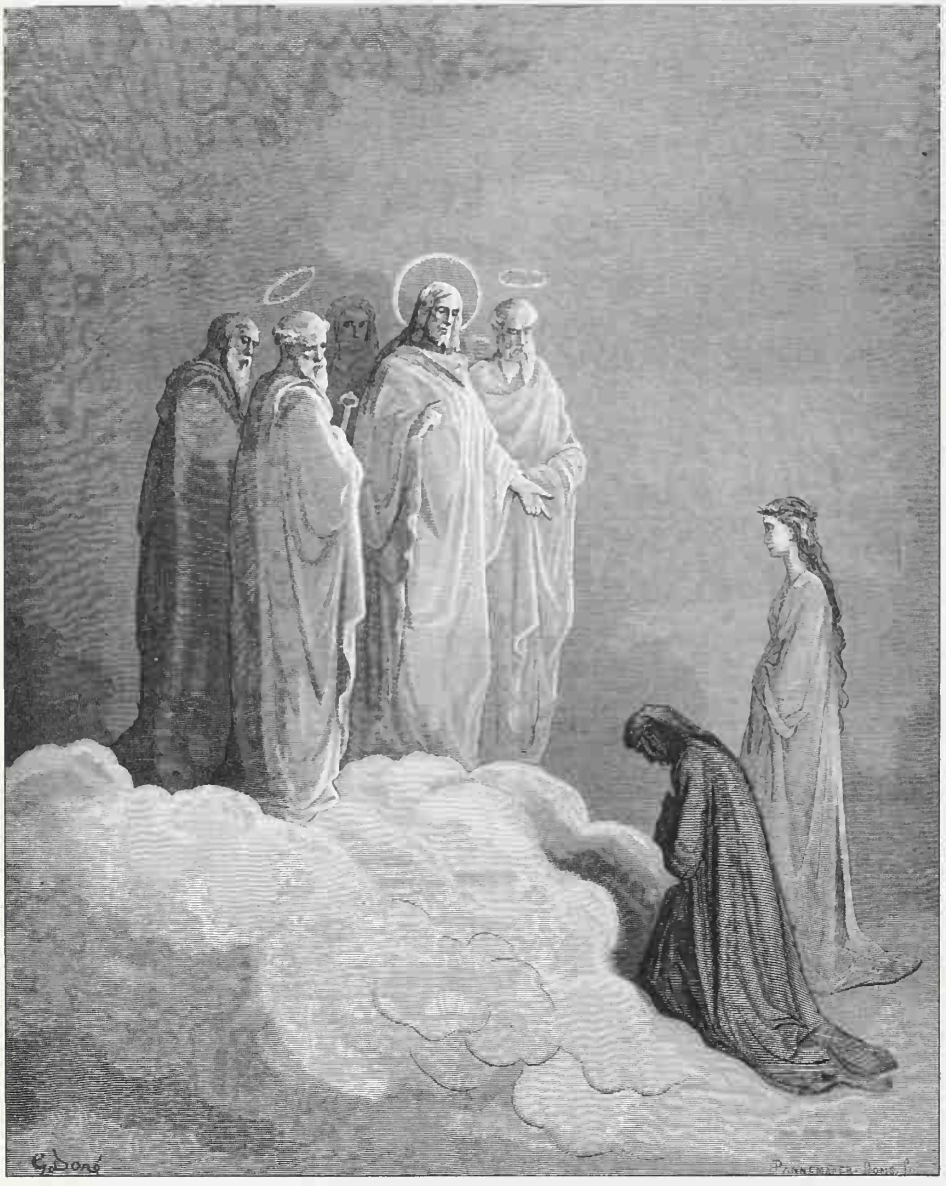


FIGURE 7: Gustave Doré, *Heaven of the Fixed Stars*, ca. 1868. In Dante Alighieri, *The Divine Comedy* (Dover Publications, Inc., New York, 1976.)

To forest glades at last it led,
By Silence chosen as her own:
The pines' soft sighing overhead
Seemed but her whispers flown.

But o'er the dale where Silence stood,
With tranquil dews austerely crowned,
A wilder glory touched the wood,—
A sense of things profound.[62]

The sea also figured largely in Sterling's life and poetry as it did in Piazzoni's painting. On the California coast one is ever conscious of the ocean's presence, perhaps nowhere more so than in Sterling's beloved Carmel. Piazzoni's painting *The Sea*, 1915 [fig. 4], was described by a contemporary viewer as "gigantic, silent, eternal." Sterling, in his "Sonnets on the Sea's Voice," similarly contrasts the sea as man's symbol of eternity with the eternity that will silence the sea: "And thy deep voice is hushed, O vanquished Sea! / One with eternity that giveth rest."[63]

Piazzoni's *The Sea* is a large horizontal canvas that records the immensity of the sea through a reductive simplicity of both color and composition. It lacks narrative, and suggests human presence only through the inclusion of a boat silhouetted against the sky. Its imagery recalls Sterling's poem "On a Western Beach," published the previous year.

> Far out, hulls down, the ships go by;
> North, south, they pass, by night or day;
> There, where the ocean meets the sky,
> The canvas leans, the tall masts sway.[64]

The phrase "Eternal Light," the translated title of Piazzoni's *Lux Aeterna* [fig. 1], occurs more than once in different forms throughout Sterling's poetry. It is the imagery of "Aldebaran at Dusk," published in 1911, that seems most analogous to Piazzoni's painting. Sterling describes the moon in terms of a woman, in silver, upholding to her breast the "everlasting rose of light."

> She dreams in silver at the eastern gates
> Ere yet she brims with light the blue estates
> Abandoned by the eagles of the noon.
> But shine thou swiftly on the darkling dune
> And woodlands where the twilight hesitates.
> Above that wide and ruby lake to–West
> Wherein the sunset waits reluctantly,
> Stir silently the purple wings of Night.
> She stands afar, upholding to her breast,
> As mighty murmurs reach her from the sea,
> Thy lone and everlasting rose of light.[65]

Sterling's poems, like Piazzoni's paintings, are frequently transcendental. In his poem "Dawn from a Western Mountain," Sterling's lines "Now seem the skies the home of God / And earth the Garden where He trod"[66] clearly equate nature and the Divine. Piazzoni's Transcendentalism is evoked in his letters as well as his paintings. In 1912, writing to fellow artist and friend Ralph Stackpole from Emerald Bay at Lake Tahoe he ecstatically described his experience with nature:

> I shall never forget this trip nor the trips taken from our camp to places one has dreamed of, places that you see painted as backgrounds of a Mona Lisa or some other of the old masters, pure, beautiful and strange, places that makes [sic] one think of God, corners of Paradise where the Gods meet unseen.[67]

Piazzoni's paintings and letters have much in common with the writings of Transcendentalist pioneers. Henry David Thoreau's "simplicity, simplicity, simplicity" seems to reverberate throughout Piazzoni's work, as does Thoreau's belief that "in eternity there is indeed something true and sublime."[68]

To an even greater degree than Thoreau, Ralph Waldo Emerson seems to prefigure Piazzoni's own conceptions. The artist and the writer were both well acquainted with the ideas of Emanuel Swedenborg and felt the immanence of God in the visual world. When Emerson beheld a landscape, like Piazzoni, he did not wish to "recite correctly the order and superposition of the strata," but to know "why all thought of multitude is lost in a tranquil sense of unity."[69] In the midst of the Promethean scope of nature Emerson was conscious of his littleness, as were many California artists, and in a poem verbalized his feeling of insignificance:

> The Soul is in eternity
> As man stands in the landscape
> He is very small
> But he is apprised that the other is large
> And being so apprized [sic]
> Partakes of its scope.[70]

It is the imagery that Emerson creates in his famous essay *Nature*, however, that seems most like Piazzoni's painting, especially *Lux Aeterna*. "The aspect of nature is devout," Emerson states, "Like the figure of Jesus, she stands with bended head, and hands folded upon the breast. The happiest man is he who learns from nature the lesson of worship."[71] The passage not only conjures an image that seems manifest in Piazzoni's painting, but the principles it presents would have been in accordance with Piazzoni's own.

Standing with Emerson's *Nature* as one of the primary documents of Anglo-American Transcendentalism was Thomas Carlyle's *Sartor Resartus*. There is no doubt that Piazzoni read Carlyle, for in a 1912 letter to his friend Ralph Stackpole he mentions that

"I may be able to finish the wonderful essays of Carlyle. Dante I have not opened but I assure you that I often though[t] of him."[72] Surely the essays he was referring to were those of the author's major transcendental work *Sartor Resartus*, a text that remained steadily in print. All things in Carlyle lead ultimately to everything else, and as one of Carlyle's biographers points out: "We see heaven in a grain of sand."[73] Piazzoni can be similarly described. Piazzoni's son-in-law described his technique: "In a sense . . . he's feeling every blade of grass."[74] In *Sartor Resartus*, Carlyle conceived of God as "Omnipresent and Eternal; as existing in a universal *here*, an everlasting *now*,"[75] and he described nature as the "Living Garment of God."[76] Piazzoni also described nature as a garment. In a letter he stated with Whistlerian a estheticism: "California is now putting on her golden robe and truly some days are beautiful (This morning was a dream in silver) They are rare but when they come they make us forget everything. . . ."[77]

Again, as with Sterling, Thoreau, and Emerson, Piazzoni seems to draw inspiration from Carlyle's *Sartor Resartus*. "Speech too is great, but not the greatest," says Professor Teufelsdröckh, the hero of the prose work. "As the Swiss Inscription says: Sprechen ist silbern, Schweigen ist golden (Speech is silvern, Silence is golden); or as I might rather express it: Speech is of Time, Silence is of Eternity."[78] This passage must have had special relevance for a Swiss-born artist such as Piazzoni. Perhaps not coincidentally, his painting *Silence* [fig. 3], was painted around the same year that he was finishing Carlyle's "wonderful essays." Piazzoni endeavored to paint works expressing the eternal. According to Carlyle, silence was one way to achieve this goal.

Like silence, "eternity" is a common theme for both Carlyle and Piazzoni. Piazzoni's tenebrous and sublime landscape *Eternity* (ca. 1902–09) could be used as an illustration for Carlyle's description of Professor Teufelsdröckh's dark eyes, which resemble some "silent, high-encircled mountain-pool, perhaps the crater of an extinct volcano."[79] The "eternal light" of *Lux Aeterna* also seems related to passages of Carlyle's text. When the professor enters the "wilds of Nature" he is awestruck.

> Never till this hour had he known Nature, that she was One, that she was his Mother and divine. And as the ruddy glow was fading into clearness in the sky, and the Sun had now departed, a murmur of Eternity and Immensity, of Death and of Life, stole through his soul; and he felt as if Death and Life were one, as if the Earth were not dead, as if the Spirit of the Earth had its throne in that splendor, and his own spirit were therewith holding communion.[80]

Not only does *Lux Aeterna* communicate transcendental beliefs found in Carlyle, but it also manifests Piazzoni's Roman-Catholic upbringing. The painting's title is borrowed from the funeral Mass of the Latin Missal that when translated reads: "May light eternal shine upon them, O Lord; for endless ages with thy saints, for thou art gracious. Rest eternal grant unto them, O Lord, and may light perpetual shine upon them."[81] The text, which refers to the passage from death to life, thus gives viewers a foundation on which to base a reading of Piazzoni's painting.

Piazzoni thought highly of *Lux Aeterna* and exhibited it at the 1915 Panama Pacific International Exposition, held in San Francisco. A reviewer for the *Oakland Tribune* saw the painting and decided that "it has to do with things of the spirit." She continued: "The figure is impersonal and so draped as to suppress sex. It is the human soul in supplication."[82] While this is a valid interpretation of the painting, it is but one of many potential readings. The multiplicity of sources, both visual and literary, that Piazzoni drew from and that are embodied in *Lux Aeterna* make it necessary to consider a variety of interpretations. While the painting seems both a transcendental statement echoing the words of Sterling, Emerson, and Carlyle, its title also aligns it with Catholicism. Yet these two disparate forces need not be considered mutually exclusive for Piazzoni successfully incorporates both.

One final source of inspiration for Piazzoni that must be discussed before being able to come to terms with several paintings in Piazzoni's oeuvre, including *Lux Aeterna*, is Dante. The Florentine poet (1265–1321) was profoundly important to Piazzoni. In his letter to Ralph Stackpole Piazzoni

mentions him in the same breath with Carlyle, and students recall him speaking of Dante. Piazzoni also married a woman named Beatrice, coincidentally the name of the woman to whom *The Divine Comedy* was dedicated. This name coincidence perhaps fueled his enthusiasm for the Italian master, as Dante's influence can be most profoundly felt in paintings created during his courtship and first years of marriage to Beatrice Del Mue. It was that masterpiece, *The Divine Comedy*, that most inspired the young artist and served as the basis for several paintings in which there appears a scene depicting very dark, high-walled cliffs lit from behind by a radiant light. A powerful theme for Piazzoni, it occupied him off and on for several years. The paintings, two of which are extant, range in date between 1902 and 1909. They are titled *End of Life* of 1909, and *Eternity*, the latter annotated on the reverse "for Putnam," as it was a gift to the artist. From these titles it would be difficult to interpret the artist's inspiration. However, the titles of the two unlocated paintings, *Abandon All Hope Ye Who Enter Here* and *Dante's Inferno*, clarify the painting's source. The artist's son-in-law, Philip Wood, cited the existence of the first, stating that it looked much like the two extant canvases,[83] while the second canvas, *Dante's Inferno*, is listed in a 1902 exhibition catalogue, and can be assumed to resemble the other three.[84]

Josephine Blanch interpreted *End of Life* as "symbolic of the soul journeying through the Valley of the Shadow of Death."[85] In a way, her assertion is correct, although in the poem, the soul that journeys through this valley is a specific one—Dante's. Piazzoni's paintings depict the cliffs of hell silhouetted by a glowing light that reflects onto a low-lying cloud bank, which matches Dante's description:

> I raised my head and saw the hilltop shawled in morning rays of light sent from the planet that leads men straight ahead on every road.[86]

In Dante's text the light is an emanation of God, just as it is in Piazzoni's paintings. Throughout *The Divine Comedy* it is Dante's goal to reach the light. The *Inferno* details this quest by narrating Dante's escape from hell, which is only accomplished by scaling the rocky cliffs.

The paintings' titles make it clear that Piazzoni was considering a specific moment in Dante's narrative, deriving from the moment Dante and his guide Virgil are about to enter the vestibule that leads to Hell itself. Before the two poets enter they stop to read an inscription above the gate of Hell that ends:

> Before Me Nothing But Eternal Things
> Were Made, And I Shall Last Eternally.
> Abandon Every Hope, All You Who Enter[87]

Piazzoni was not the first to depict this moment. He was surely aware of Gustave Doré's well-known illustrations of *The Divine Comedy*, including *The Gate of Hell* [fig. 5], to which Piazzoni's *End of Life* and *Eternity* bear a strong similarity. While Doré's illustration represents the same point in the narrative as Piazzoni's, his image is more specific, including the figures of Dante and Virgil and the sign over Hell's gate. Piazzoni removes these details and thus creates paintings that can be more universally understood, broadly interpreted, and appreciated as pure landscape.

Other of Piazzoni's paintings from this period seem too compositionally similar to Doré's illustrations to be accidental. Piazzoni's painting *Reflection* of 1904 [fig. 8], for instance, is remarkably reminiscent of an illustration from a scene in Dante's *Purgatory* [fig. 6]. Both works are weighted on the left and depict figures perched on a ledge, with the sea extending behind them. While Doré's directly illustrates Dante's narrative as he intended, Piazzoni's becomes more profoundly meditational, a "reflection" upon humanity's smallness in the face of God and nature.

Because Dante was so profoundly important to Piazzoni that he would undertake the theme of *The Divine Comedy* at least four times over a period of several years, it seems logical that other of his enigmatic works might also have been similarly inspired. *Lux Aeterna*, for example, borrows imagery from the *Paradiso (Paradise)*. The artist first conceived *Lux Aeterna* in a small 1910 oil sketch (unlocated), during the period when Dante was very much on Piazzoni's mind. The larger canvas was completed in 1914, after Piazzoni had begun what must have been at least his second reading of Dante.[88]

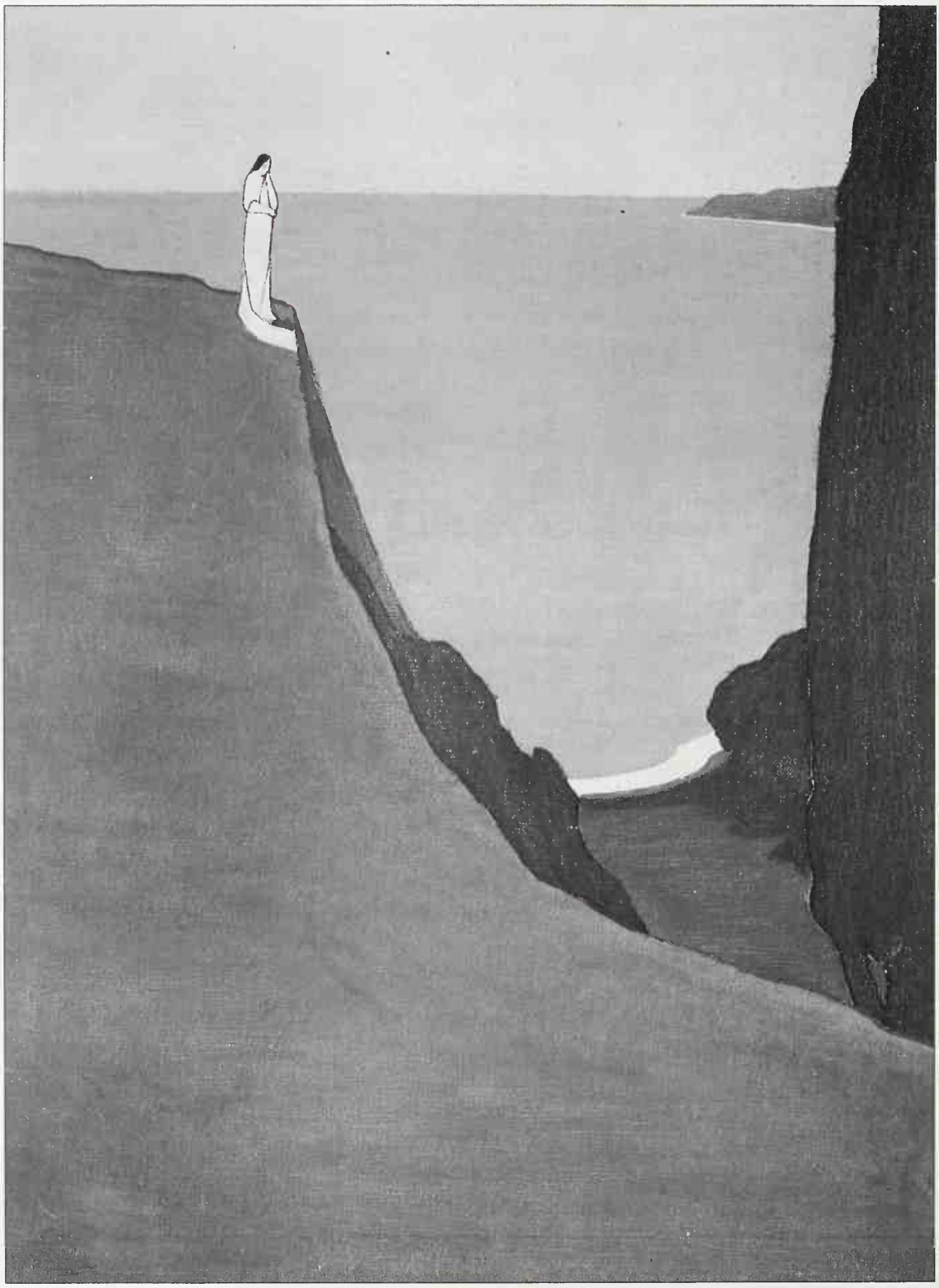


FIGURE 8: Gottardo Piazzoni, *Reflection*, 1904, oil on canvas, 22 1/2 in. by 17 in.
Courtesy Oakland Museum of California, Gift of the Estate of Marjorie Eaton by Exchange. Photograph by M. Lee Fatherree.

It is evident from the first canto of the *Inferno* that light is equated with God, and that from the beginning it was Dante's goal to reach this light. In *Paradise* the equation of God and light becomes more and more pronounced, culminating with Dante beholding the light. The phrase "Eternal Light," meaning God, occurs repeatedly throughout *Paradise*. It is invoked as Dante beholds Beatrice, enthroned in the third circle from the highest tier of heaven:

> I did not say a word but raised my eyes
> and saw her there in all her glory crowned
> by the reflections of eternal light. . .
> Such was my prayer. And she, so far away,
> or so it seemed, looked down at me and smiled;
> then to Eternal Light she turned once more.[89]

The phrase is repeated in a passage that follows, as Saint Bernard prays to the Virgin:

> . . . you see, with Beatrice, all the Blest,
> hands clasped in prayer, are praying for my prayer.
> Those eyes so loved and reverenced by God,
> now fixed on him who prayed, made clear to us
> how precious true devotion is to her;
> then she looked into the Eternal Light, . . .[90]

In *Lux Aeterna*, Piazzoni returned to Gustave Doré for inspiration in creating his image, in this case to one of Doré's final illustrations for the *Paradise*, which depicts Dante kneeling before Saint John and other saints with Beatrice at his side [fig. 7]. Dante at this point in the *Paradise* is blind, but Beatrice will soon restore his sight. Dante, as represented by Doré, wears a long robe and hood and kneels before the saints, his head bent down, his hands clutched to his breast, his eyes closed. Piazzoni's figure assumes the same pose, albeit slightly more upright, wearing a like costume, eyes closed in prayer. There are important differences, however. Whereas Doré's image depicts Dante's distinctive profile, Piazzoni's figure seems neither male nor female. It is the sexless and universal human soul. Neither does Piazzoni's figure kneel on a cloud to pray before a group of saints, but is securely rooted to the earth, in prayer before the landscape and in radiant light that seems to emanate not from heaven, but from California.[91]

The assertion that *Lux Aeterna* is at least partially based on Dante's *Paradise* does not deny or negate an association with Transcendentalist literature. The seemingly disparate philosophies found in the *Divine Comedy* and in works like *Nature* and *Sartor Resartus* share a belief in God's presence in the natural world and his emanation through light. In the *Paradise*, Dante, through Beatrice, makes this clear:

> Among all things, however disparate,
> there reigns an order, and this gives the form
> that makes the universe resemble God[92]

Like many of Piazzoni's paintings, *Lux Aeterna* seems purposefully enigmatic and yet is capable of being universally understood. At its most basic level it simply represents a figure kneeling in prayer before the land, and yet there are myriad ideas behind such a seemingly simple production. The reductive simplicity of Piazzoni's compositions should not fool us into underestimating his conceptions. Piazzoni's paintings are at once symbolic, literary, poetic, and transcendental, and yet always expressive of place. He would be the first to remind us: "In every canvas I produce, whether it is a landscape, a symbolic painting, or figure work, it is always the spirit of California that I am endeavoring to express."[93] CHS

See notes beginning on page 155.

Scott A. Shields, formerly art curator at the California Historical Society, is curator of art at the Crocker Art Museum in Sacramento. He holds an M.A. in art history from the University of Kansas, where he is currently a Ph.D. candidate. Shields has curated numerous exhibitions including The Exoticized Woman and Her Allure in American Art; Feminine and Floral Imagery of the Art Nouveau; Stay East Young Man: California Gold Rush Letter Sheets; *and* American Revolutions: The Other Side of Modern, 1900-45. *He co-curated the recent exhibition,* Splendide Californie: French Artists Impressions of the Golden State, 1786-1900, *which opened at CHS and traveled to the Crocker in June of 2001. Mr. Shields has written for several journals and has also worked extensively with American art in various media, with a particular concentration on the art of northern California.*

Revising the Sesquicentennial Narrative: The Importance of Josiah Royce's *California* for Our Time

by Ronald A. Wells

Two books appeared in the mid-1980s that were important in re-orienting public discourse about the past and the future of American life. Later, two groups of scholars evaluated these books, and the authors were given an opportunity for response. In both cases the celebrated authors wrote of their own surprise in acknowledging that they had a nineteenth-century scholar in the back of their minds when writing their books but had not fully realized as much. They both stated their previously unacknowledged debt to Josiah Royce.

In *Habits of the Heart*, Robert Bellah and his colleagues reached back to that incomparable observer of America—Alexis de Tocqueville—to discuss what the core American belief in individualism had done to American values and beliefs.[1] When a noted group of Catholic scholars critiqued *Habits*, one of them suggested the salience of Josiah Royce to the discussion about individualism and community.[2] Bellah responded:

> I was embarrassed to discover that our own memory had lapsed in that the authors of *Habits* did not credit Royce with the terms "community of memory" and "community of hope" which play a central role in our argument. Royce was in the background of several of us but we did not return to him in the period when we were writing *Habits*.[3]

In *Legacy of Conquest*, Patricia Nelson Limerick accomplished a signal success in collapsing the intellectual world delivered by Frederick Jackson Turner, who had seen a discontinuity between the culture-shaping time of the "frontier" and his writing in the 1890s.[4] Rather, Limerick insisted, there were and are fundamental continuities between that time and ours, in terms of race, ethnicity, gender, and commerce. But, when Limerick reflected on her work two years after the book's publication[5]—in the context of an evaluation of *Legacy* by a blue-ribbon group of scholars—she admitted some "failings" in *Legacy*:

> Perhaps most embarrassing [was] the unacknowledged, uncited status of Josiah Royce. In a number of ways, *Legacy* is an argument for awarding Royce his deserved status as the father of western history; he had, after all, the chronological jump on Turner.[6]

The purpose here is not to fault Bellah and Limerick. But when two prominent intellectuals write important books, and later both are embarrassed not to have acknowledged their debts to Josiah Royce, we know we are on to something worthwhile about the importance of Royce's thinking for our own time. This essay introduces and contextualizes Royce's seminal work on California history. Especially at this time of remembrance and celebration of California statehood, we might profit by looking again at Royce's challenge to his own time. As we seek, with historian Kevin Starr and others, to sort out the various meanings for us of the California founding time, we do well to listen again to a writer who combined criticism of, and admiration for, what was to become "the California dream" in the American mind.[7]



Josiah Royce (1855-1915). *Courtesy Harvard University Archives. Photograph courtesy University Archives, UCLA.*

Josiah Royce and his *California: A Study of American Character*

In 1886, Josiah Royce, a young instructor at Harvard University, published a book that was among the first serious histories of California. However, it has been mostly forgotten by those who would interpret the meaning of the American phase of California history. It has a long nineteenth-century title, *California, From the Conquest in 1846 to the Second Vigilance Committee in San Francisco: A Study of American Character*. Hereinafter we will simply call it *California.*

Royce had not planned to be a historian of California. He was chosen because the intended author for the California volume in *The American Commonwealth* series died suddenly. The editor at Houghton Mifflin, Horace Scudder, moved to fill the gap quickly, by talking with friends in academic and

business communities of Cambridge and Boston. He soon came upon Royce, who had come to Harvard as a one-year replacement for William James.

James said in a letter to a friend that he was enjoying the company of Royce "who is just thirty years old and a perfect little Socrates for wisdom and humor."[8] This "little Socrates" was chosen for the series not because he was an academically trained historian of California but because he was available through Harvard connections and because he was a native Californian. In time he was to make a major name for himself as a moral philosopher, teaching at Harvard for thirty years and writing more than a score of books and many articles in philosophy. Royce's role as historian interests us here, but we cannot take that historical work out of the context of his larger efforts in philosophy.[9]

Though not trained in history Royce undertook his research and writing with the concerns of a scholar, with meticulous attention to detail and documentation. In fact, he later told a friend that writing history was much more difficult than writing philosophy because in history one had to stick to empirical reality.[10] Not only did he think and write like a scholar, he had the good fortune of having had nearly unlimited access to the library of Hubert Howe Bancroft. Also, Royce was unique in being the first scholar, fortunate or otherwise, to write a book-length history of California who was himself a native of the state. He brought an intuitive feel to the subject, and a passion born out of his desire to see the moral significance of the "new land" of his birth. He was also unique in another respect: in researching *California* Royce asked his mother to write her memoirs as a Forty-niner, which she probably would not have done otherwise. Because she did, Royce wrote a better book and we have one of the best accounts of pioneer life from a woman's perspective, which Sarah Bayliss Royce had called her "Pilgrimage Journey."[11]

Royce's sense of history and place was born out of a deep curiosity about his native town, Grass Valley, which was itself only about a half-dozen years older than Royce. His youthful experiences in the Sierra Nevada were to fill him with wonder about the nature of society itself:

> My earliest recollections include a very frequent wonder as to what my elders meant when they said this was a new community. I frequently looked at the vestiges left by the former diggings of miners, saw that many pine logs were rotten, and that a miner's grave was to be found in a lonely place not far from my own house. Plainly men had lived and died thereabouts . . . The logs and graves looked old. The sunsets were beautiful. The wide prospects when one looked across the Sacramento Valley were impressive and had long interested the people of whose love for my country I heard much. What was there then in this place that ought to be called new, or for that matter, crude? I wondered, and gradually came to feel that part of my life's business was to find out what all this wonder meant.[12]

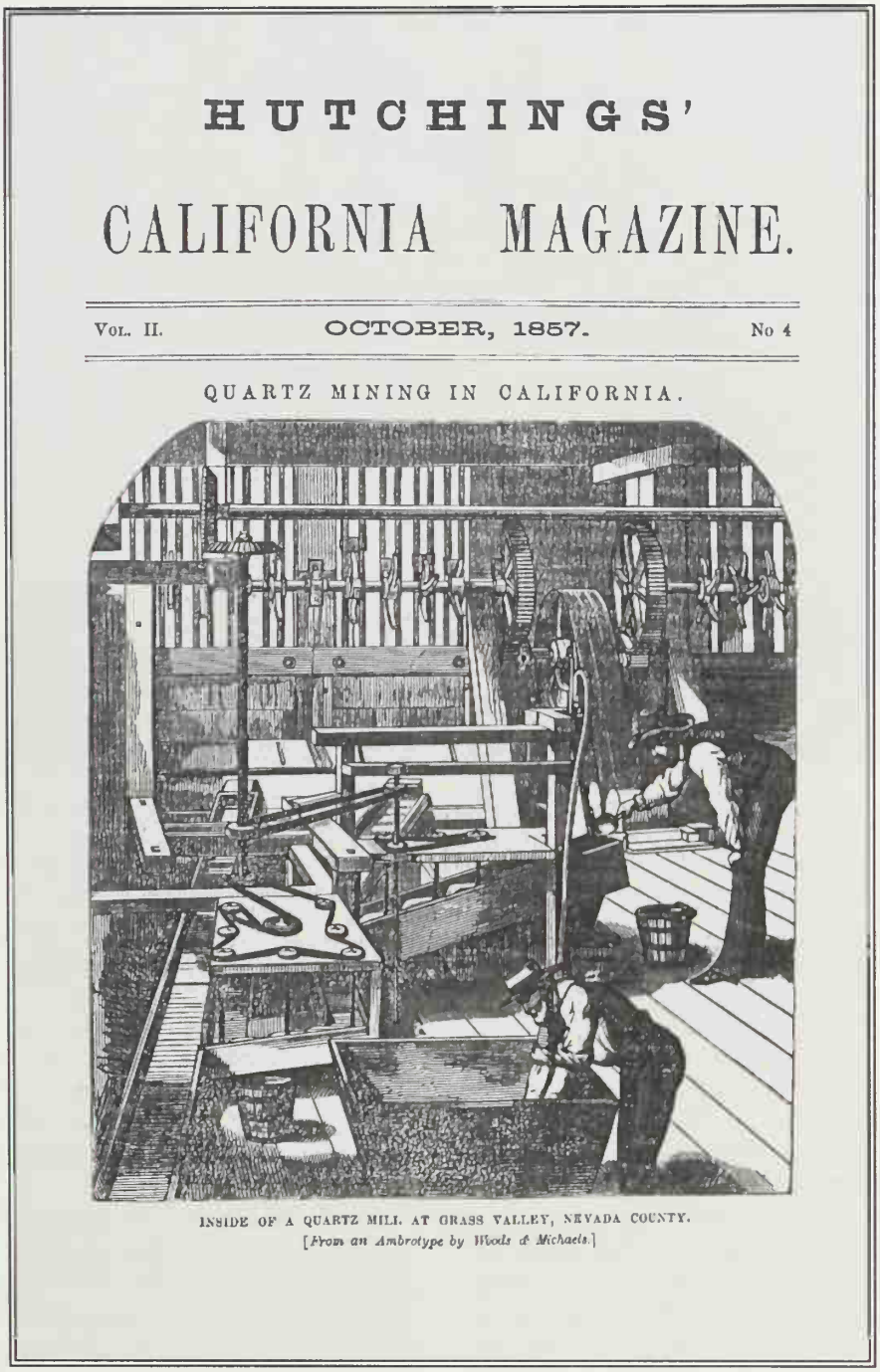
It was from an early age, he later recalled, that his ideas about the nature of persons and society in community were formed:

> I strongly feel that my deepest motives and problems have centered about the Idea of the Community, although this idea has only gradually come into my consciousness. This was what I was intensely feeling, in the days when my sisters and I looked across the Sacramento Valley, and wondered about the great world beyond our mountains.[13]

The "great world" would be very large indeed under the scrutiny of this mind of colossal energy. But Royce always tried to balance the particular and the universal, or, as he was later to say, the provincial and the great community.

Royce's interest in the history of California was intense and lasting. Although he did not write professionally about California after 1891, the whole of his philosophical work was part of his working out the failure of, and the need for, community in his native California. As he developed philosophical positions on "loyalty," "provincialism," and "the great community," California was never far from Royce's mind. If there is one single point to be distilled from Royce's *California* and from his other work, it is that humans cannot escape social duties. As Patricia Nelson Limerick was later to write in *Legacy of Conquest*, "The cruel but common lesson of western history: postponements and evasions catch up with people."[14]

In the strictest professional sense, Royce stayed



HUTCHINGS'

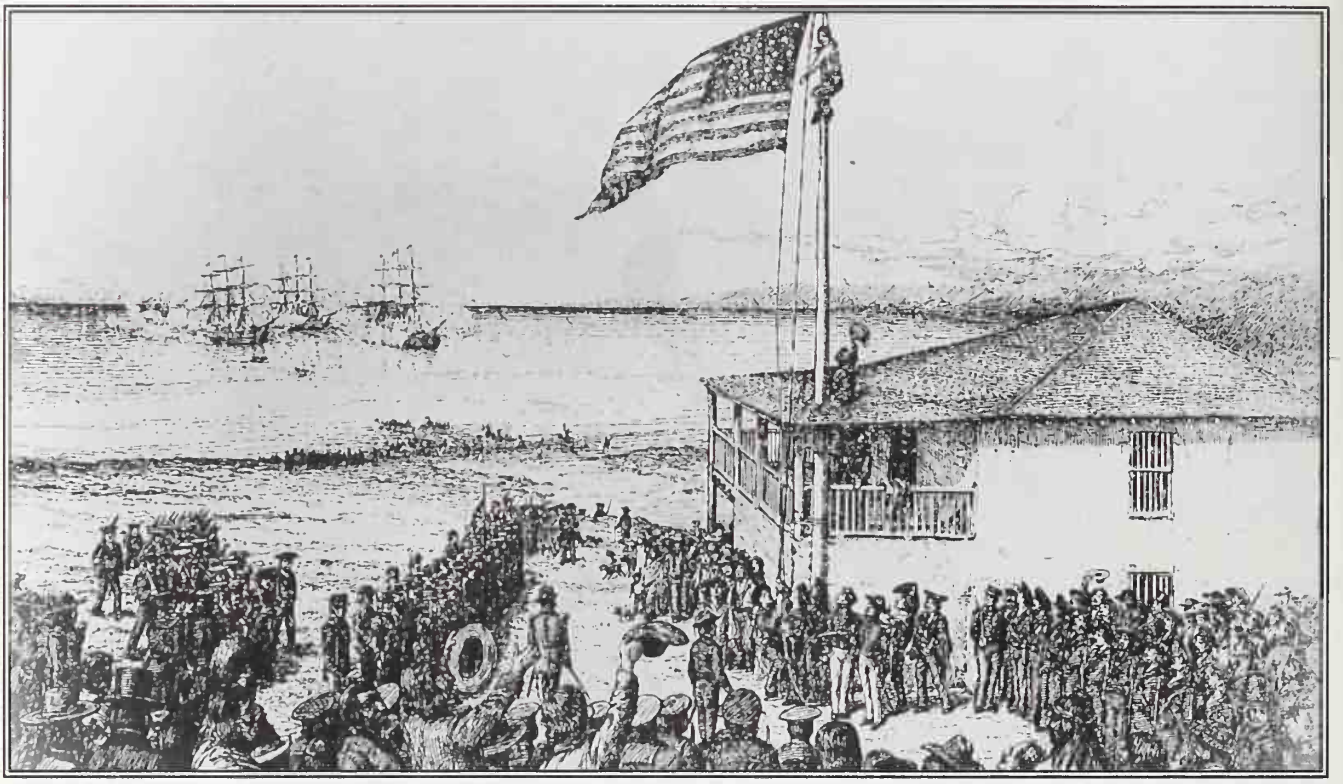
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QUARTZ MINING IN CALIFORNIA.

INSIDE OF A QUARTZ MILL AT GRASS VALLEY, NEVADA COUNTY.
[*From an Ambrotype by Woods & Michaels.*]

English-born James Mason Hutchings arrived in California in 1849, and seven years later launched *Hutchings' California Magazine,* an insightful portrait of the young state. The cover of this 1857 issue, showing the interior of a Grass Valley quartz mill, illustrates industrialized gold mining by the mid-1850s. Born in the Sierra town, Royce was but an infant when Hutchings visited the community to observe and write about hard-rock mining. *California Historical Society, FN-30967.*



Monterey, once the capital of Spanish and then Mexican California, was occupied by U.S. forces under Commodore John D. Sloat on July 2, 1846. Uncertain whether the U.S. had declared war on Mexico, Sloat waited five days, and then, learning of the Bear Flag "revolt," landed his marines and proclaimed California a part of the United States. Hoisting the American flag over the Monterey Customs House on July 7, 1846, he also ordered the occupation of Yerba Buena and San Francisco Bay, thus securing Alta California. Sloat also promised the Californios that under U.S. rule their lives would improve, with greater freedoms under U.S. citizenship. But with his poor health in further decline, he turned over his command to Commodore Robert Stockton, and the tone of the occupation changed sharply. *California Historical Society/Ticor Title and Trust Photograph Collection, Department of Special Collections, USC.*

with California history from 1884 to 1891. One recent historian, reviewing the historiography of the Gold Rush, overstates his case in a way that dismisses Royce and the moral discourse for which Royce stood: "He lectured the young state of California about its moral shortcomings in the tone of an understanding but disappointed father. The lecture over, Royce returned once more to the study of philosophy."[15] In fact, Royce began research in Bancroft's library in 1884 and stopped writing directly about California history in 1891 when his several publishers—Robert Underwood Johnson, Millicent Shinn, and Horace Scudder—told him that the reading public had had enough of his meticulous work, especially on John C. Frémont, due to circumstances explained below.

The corpus of Royce's published writings and his personal letters, taken together, reveal a man who may have begun his work on *California* in a relatively light-hearted spirit, possibly unaware of the enormity of the task ahead, but they also reveal a person who matured as a scholar and a moral observer of society in the process. In the story of California he saw the triumph that others had seen, but saw tragedy too; he saw the heroism that other writers saw, but treachery too; he joined with others in celebrating the best in American character as shown in early California, but he also saw the worst, and was

unafraid to say so. He engaged in a fairly bitter battle for historical truth concerning the years 1846-1856, and he would have continued it if necessary. Royce, in short, did not engage in a preemptory attack and then leave the moral battlefield prematurely.

What strikes one in reading Royce's *California* and his many journalistic pieces in the battle of words that followed the book's publication, is his responsible, careful, and nuanced writing, as compared to the feelings displayed in his letters. His letters reveal a person who is shocked, even appalled at times, by the actual historical events in early California, but even more by the attempted cover-up of odious aspects by the participants and their descendants. Royce began to give intellectual order to a pattern of social arrogance and carelessness he saw emerging from the documentary evidence. There was also the problem of the historical record being willfully distorted or muted, either by the historical actors themselves, or more typically by relatives and friends who wished to portray a decent, even heroic, past when dispute and dishonor also needed to be admitted.

Some scholars of the conquest trace Royce's disinclination to allow a heroic and "manifest destiny"-type narrative to his own unhappy childhood and school days. It is alleged that, somewhere down deep in Royce's soul, he thoroughly disliked those who caused social exclusion or who bullied weaker people.[16] One doesn't know what to make of psychological explanations for Royce's work, other than that they seem plausible if not persuasive. In any event, Royce was a moral social analyst who decried injustice. Moreover, he became downright angry with those who lied about and tried to cover up the injustices they had perpetrated.

Many scholars, even those sympathetic to Royce, believe he overdid it, both in terms of his verbosity and of his seemingly relentless—some would say obsessive—pursuit of the mythology surrounding John C. Frémont. As to the first point, any modern reader would question Royce on his verbiage. Where one word would do, he used two. Several of his editors asked him to delete parts of his work. It seems he was the same way in person. If Royce was asked a question, all the available space was filled by the answer, leaving many questioners sorry they had asked.[17] Royce was nothing if not thorough; but he seems not always to have distinguished between thoroughness and verbosity. But the other charge, that Royce went way over the top in his pursuit of Frémont, for example, is not so easy to concede. In the end, I think we must sympathize with Royce. Even if he wrote too much on the Frémont legend, that legend, as Royce lamented, would not go away, despite the facts of the case. At the risk of compounding Royce's possible over-emphasis on the Frémont affair, we must follow the documentary trail on this matter in order to judge Royce's credibility.

Captain John C. Frémont, a well-known explorer, was in California in 1845-46. When the hostilities of the Mexican War began to impinge on California, Frémont associated himself with a group of Americans along the Sacramento River who were restive under Mexican control, and the Bear Flag revolt—their attempt to establish a Republic of California—began. The question, in 1846 and when Royce wrote forty years later, was this: on what orders did Frémont act? The rebellion was not authorized by the United States government, and was not part of the overall American plan. Frémont and his irregulars may figure in the annals of California mythology, but their actions complicated, and did nothing to complement, American policy in 1846. Since the policy of the United States was to welcome the Californios, whom Royce calls the native Californians, not antagonize them, "the conquest" set in place an unfortunate pattern of racial-ethnic relations in California that was difficult to overcome. Royce, a moral philosopher, deplored that pattern. Royce's quandary about Frémont's motives and the results of his actions was profound. The Frémont legend was, and is, vital to California history: if Frémont indeed acted on orders, then Californians must rightly regard him as their hero; if he had no orders, and his actions poisoned ethnic relations, then he is the villain. That Frémont was the first Republican candidate for president, and that he had a considerable reputation based on his California career, complicate the dilemma further.

Now, when Josiah Royce began his research for *California* in the summer of 1884, he had access to Bancroft's unique library of documents, memoirs,

and newspapers. It soon became obvious to Royce that things did not look good for Frémont. But, cautious and scholarly, Royce wondered if there were an alternative interpretation. As it turned out, a friend of his from Berkeley undergraduate days—William Carey Jones, later to be a founder of legal studies at Berkeley—was a nephew of Frémont on his mother's side. Jones agreed to set up an interview between Royce and Frémont, and Royce sent Jones the sorts of questions he wanted to ask General Frémont. Royce was deferential, saying that he need not even bother the aged hero if documentary evidence could be produced that would satisfy Royce's questions.[18] But the Frémonts preferred an interview, which occurred in early December 1884 at their home in New York.

Royce met with General Frémont and his wife, Jessie, the daughter of Senator Thomas Hart Benton, who had been a prominent figure in antebellum politics. Earlier, Royce had seen and copied a copy in the Bancroft collection of an 1846 dispatch from Secretary of State Buchanan to Thomas Larkin, the American consul at Monterey in the 1840s. The document was vitally important because it disclosed American policy in California and who was in charge of it. Clearly, the Polk administration intended to bring California into the Union, but Larkin was to ensure the harmony of that transition by cultivating the good feelings of the Californios. Larkin, then, not Frémont, was the government's secret agent in California, and the policy was to pursue "peaceful persuasion" of the Mexican population.

During the interview, Royce kept quiet about his copy of the Larkin dispatch in his pocket. The Frémonts insisted that no such dispatch existed and that Larkin could never have been trusted by Polk for such a delicate assignment. They insisted that Frémont was the government's man in California.[19] A recent biographer of Frémont does not directly admit that Royce had the goods on Frémont; rather he chooses to attack Royce. Regarding the infamous "Larkin dispatch," the biographer writes that "Royce perversely did not reveal that he had copied such a telltale document."[20] While there is little doubt in Royce's written account of the interview that he thoroughly enjoyed catching the great Pathfinder lying, his keeping silent does not necessarily reveal perversity as much as caution. Royce realized that deconstructing the Frémont legend would occasion stiff opposition, and that he should verify his documents. The one in his pocket was a copy of one of Bancroft's copies. He believed he needed to see the original before going public with it.



Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo (1808-1890) belonged to the second generation of a leading California family. Military leader, large estate holder, vintner, employer of hundreds of Indians, Colonel Vallejo observed the passage of colonial California into American hands, and was sympathetic toward the inevitable takeover. Nonetheless, in June 1846 he and his brother were taken "prisoners of war" by a force of armed American settlers—the Bear Flaggers. Vallejo was jailed by the insurrectionists, whom he called "that rough crowd," for two months at Sutter's Fort. Two years later Vallejo served as a delegate to the state's first constitutional convention and then as a state senator. *California Historical Society/Ticor Title and Trust Photograph Collection, Department of Special Collections, USC.*

In the early spring of 1885, Royce made a quick trip to Washington, D.C. He went to the State depart-



Jessie Benton, who eloped with John C. Frémont in 1841, was the daughter of Elizabeth McDowell and Thomas Hart Benton, a powerful U.S. senator from Missouri. Throughout Frémont's colorful and stormy military and political careers, Jessie remained his staunchest supporter. An intelligent, ambitious woman, she helped him prepare the survey reports that first brought him fame, and later, partly to earn money, published her own memoirs and other writings. This portrait of Jessie Benton Frémont was painted in 1856 by artist Buchanan Read. *Courtesy Southwest Museum.*



John Charles Frémont (1813-1890), photographed by Grant Jackson, n.d. Defiant and controversial, the young Army officer became a national hero in the early 1840s as word of his adventurous topographical expeditions through the West spread across the U.S. The Mexican government distrusted him, however, and ordered him to leave California in 1846. Frémont instead rode north and incited American settlers to overthrow the government and declare California a republic. After nearly a month of skirmishes, his grandiose plans were aborted by the U.S. conquest of Mexico in July 1846. *Courtesy Southwest Museum.*

ment, and after some negotiations over what today would be considered national security issues, Royce was able to see the original "Larkin dispatch," or a contemporary copy of it. By mid-April 1885, Royce knew what he had to do. On April 14, he wrote his publisher, Horace Scudder, and a key assistant in the Bancroft enterprise, Henry Oak, to tell the news.[21] The documents in Washington finally and fully confirmed what they all had thought: that the documents in Bancroft's possession were not only true and accurate, but all that existed on the subject. Frémont was now doubly damned: not only was Larkin surely the only agent and the policy of peace toward the Californios the government's only policy, but also there were no instructions to Frémont at all. Royce now believed, as he told Oak, that he could apply "the thumb-screw" to the Frémonts in a way he could not have done when he had seen only Bancroft's copy. Even so, Royce was a cautious scholar, and wanted to give the Frémonts another chance to exonerate themselves. On the same day, April 14, 1885, he wrote Jessie Benton Frémont, disclosing what he had found in Washington, saying that the documentary evidence did not seem to support the general's view of events on the Sacramento in 1846. Royce repeated that he wanted to do justice to the Frémonts and he urgently requested them to reveal their secrets just as the government in Washington had done.[22]

In the summer of 1885, Royce made another visit to the Frémonts. He later reported to Henry Oak in Berkeley what had transpired. Royce pleaded with the Frémonts for something new from them that would shed a different light on "The Bear Flag Affair" now that the government's secrets were out. The conversation was cordial, Royce wrote, with the general "dignified and charming," and Mrs. Frémont "calm, sunny and benevolent." But, in the face of the facts, Royce told Oak, Frémont "lied, lied unmistakably, unmitigatedly, hopelessly. And that was his only defence [sic]."[23] Even so, Royce tried yet again to find a way of escape for the Frémonts. Already to Oak, Royce had given some wiggle space, suggesting that the problem was not so much with events as with the

general's memory of them, writing "that his memory and not his design is now the deceiver."[24] So Royce wrote again to Jessie Frémont, suggesting, though not in so many words, an honorable way for the general to be let off the hook. With his book nearly finished now, Royce asked Mrs. Frémont, "How shall I explain these facts consistently with General Frémont's present memory?"[25] Significantly, Jessie Benton Frémont never replied to Royce's letter.

Royce's *California* was published in 1886, causing quite a stir among those interested and involved in the reputations made in those years. Royce was surprised by the virulence of the attacks on him and his book, and the friendships it would cost him; he was equally surprised at the lengths he would have to go to defend what he had written. It is not so much that he was "naive," as one historian has recently charged,[26] but that the issues he raised were—and are—troublesome to those who would try to interpret the American takeover of California. Royce's book allows us to begin to see an alternative narrative for the history of California.

A Brief Summary of *California*

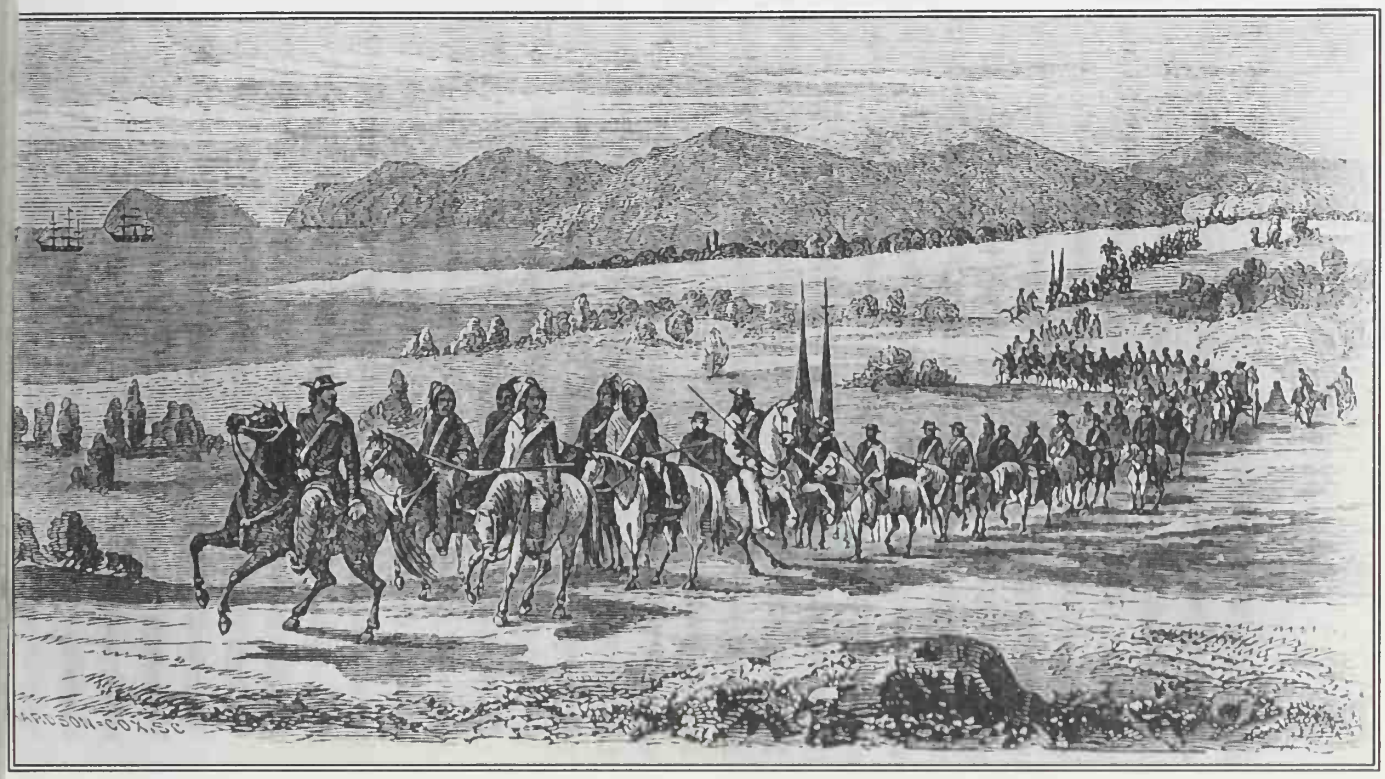
Royce's *California* revealed his independent mind. Of himself he said, "Because I am a Californian [I am] little bound to follow mere tradition."[27] In fact, his rendition of early California history flew in the face of the traditional American, manifest-destiny, viewpoint. In any case, Royce wanted his history to be more than merely a factual recounting; he was interested in the events for themselves, but even more for "their value as illustrating American life and character."[28] As Royce saw it, that paradoxical character was displayed, on the one hand as careless, hasty and blind to social duties, and on the other as "cheerful, energetic, courageous and teachable."[29]

Royce does not doubt a certain inevitability to the American conquest, nor, in his view, did the Californios. What the latter feared was the coming of bad Americans. The good American, to Mexicans and to Royce, was represented by Thomas Larkin, who was "the only American official who can receive nearly unmixed praise" for his work in California.[30] The bad American is, of course, represented by John C. Frémont. For Royce, history was not to be a happy patriotic story. Rather, he wrote the book "to serve the true patriot's interest in a clear self-knowledge, and in the formation of sensible ideals of national greatness."[31] *California*, therefore, is the true parent of Limerick's *Legacy of Conquest*, for in it Royce sees that "conquest" is indeed the right word, and that conquest attitudes continued after 1846. Those attitudes, Royce insisted, which American "national character made us assume towards the Californians at the moment of our appearance among them as conquerors, we have ever since kept, with disaster to them, and not without disgrace and degradation to ourselves."[32]

A lengthy and detailed analysis of John C. Frémont's various escapades is at the core of Royce's treatment of the American conquest. Royce is particularly hard on the leaders of the Bear Flag uprising, especially Robert Semple and William Ide. Royce mounts the evidence against Frémont and finds his actions wanting in moral character, at one point saying they amounted to "atrocity."[33] Nevertheless, Royce ends the Frémont section with a magnanimity and grace beyond a mere judgmentalism that some historians think Royce evidences. He says he cannot fully fathom "what inner motives" drove Frémont; yet Royce knows that Frémont's actions were disastrous for the nation because they created enmity between the American and the Californian.

The very basis on which the state was founded reveals this uneasy conscience about the conquest, Royce insists. The lines most quoted by scholars and journalists from *California* are these: "The American as conqueror is unwilling to appear in public as a pure aggressor. The American wants to persuade not only the world, but himself, that he is doing God service in a peaceable spirit, even when he violently takes what he has determined to get."[34] He noted the irony that while the Mexican War had come to be regarded with "shame and contempt," the acquisition of California continued to be regarded as "a God-fearing act . . . [and part of] our devotion to the cause of freedom."[35] In this respect, Royce hoped his book would be a reminder, and a guide for the future:

> So that when our nation is another time about to serve the devil, it will do so with more frankness, and will deceive itself less by half-conscious cant. For the rest, our mission in the cause of liberty is to be accomplished through a steadfast devotion to the cultivation of our own inner life, and not by going



After abandoning his Bear Flag activities, Frémont was made commander of the "California Battalion of Mounted Riflemen." As such, he helped Stockton issue a new—and offensive—proclamation to the people of California. In this contemporary image Major Frémont is shown at the head of troops invading Monterey. *California Historical Society/Ticor Title and Trust Photograph Collection, Department of Special Collections, USC.*

abroad as missionaries, as conquerors, or as marauders among weaker peoples.[36]

The singular injustice perpetrated by Frémont and Commander Sloat was the second conquest of the Californios in 1847, thereby sealing an ineradicable division between Anglo and Mexican Californians. When the Californios resented, sometimes resisted, all this, they came to be seen by Americans as rebels and traitors, which, Royce thought, forged "one more link in the fatal chain of injustice."[37]

The Gold Rush is portrayed within Royce's overall thesis of order and disorder. With thousands of new settlers arriving in 1849-50, the region was subjected to additional scenes of racism and anti-foreign feeling. Drawing from his own family's difficult trek to California in 1849, Royce noted the "religious" aura often associated with arrival in California, and the consequent attitude of high expectations among the new settlers. They hoped for, even expected, a great deal, so that when "foreigners" got in their way there was often violent reaction. Royce regards such actions as a "disgrace" to American ideals of liberty and fairness. So-called "miner's justice" was more than disgraceful; it retarded social maturity in the Anglo-American community by instilling a kind of thinking that quick, unambiguous justice could be had cheaply. Royce's passion shows clearly when he described the easy operation of lynching juries in convicting a "greaser" on little evidence: "One could see his guilt, so plainly, we know, in his ugly, swarthy face, before the trial began . . . And if he was a native Californian, a born 'greaser,' then so much the worse



Pío Pico, another prominent Californio, is shown in a portrait painted ca. 1850. Pico served twice as governor of California under Mexico but failed to build loyalty among northern residents. His great wealth in landholdings and his lavish generosity made him a legendary figure. But under American rule, his fortunes reversed. He died impoverished in 1894. *Courtesy California State Library.*

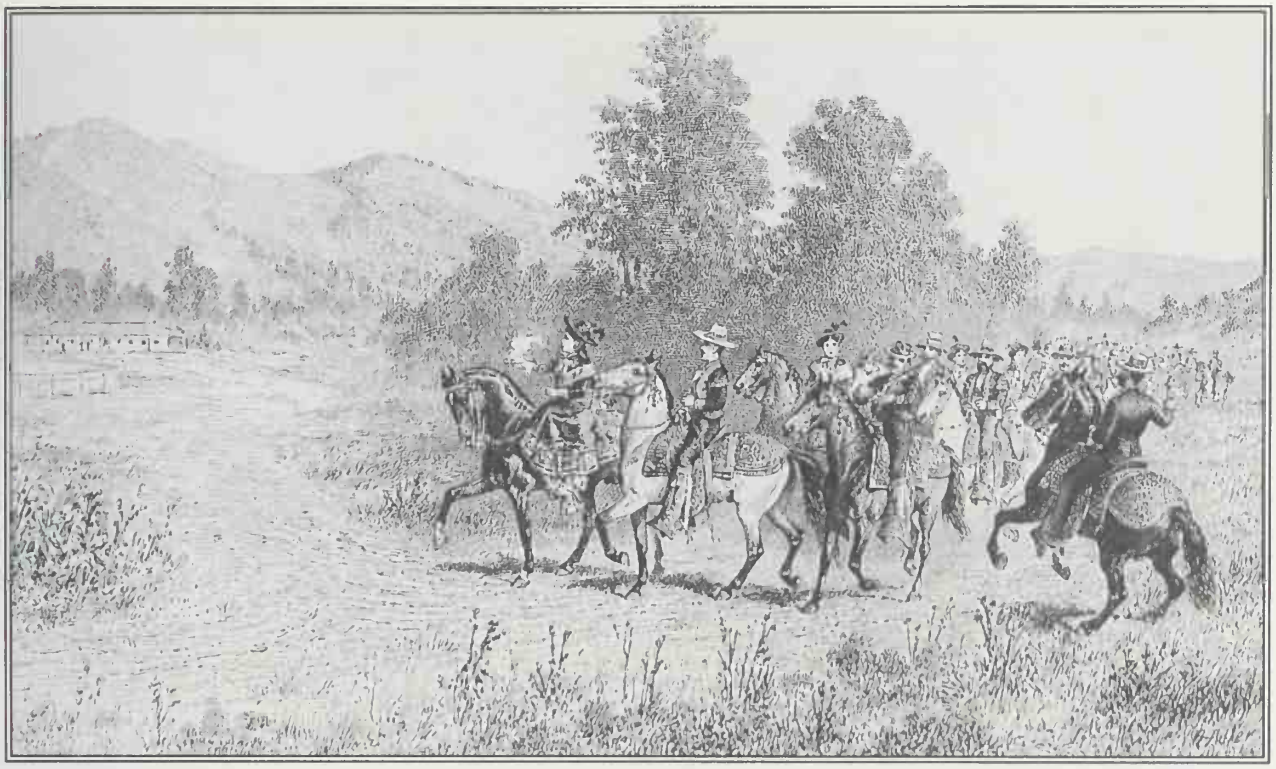
for him."[38] Yet despite the passion, or perhaps because of it, Royce marvels at the way in which mining communities could learn from this "inner social disease" and begin the process of renewal within a generation. They were, in the end, able to found real communities, that is, in his terms, to move "from social foolishness to social steadfastness."[39]

In Royce's discussion of San Francisco's first ten years, we find "dramatic incidents that belong to the painful side of the struggle for order."[40] In so writing, he contradicts thoroughly an early version of pioneer mythology that reveled in the "wicked" history of the city. To the contrary, the legend of gambling men and easy women was "but the froth on the turbid current."[41] The transient quality of early San Francisco life did indeed leave a legacy of individuality that resisted social duty. But that was to be overcome by institutions of more solid character, especially churches and families, which showed people their social duty.

Royce goes right to the heart of the matter concerning committees of vigilance. While there surely was a great deal of crime and corruption in the early 1850s, Royce does not so much blame guilty malefactors as he does the complacency of society for not making social responsibility a top priority. In the famous case of the murder of the reform-minded editor James King of William, by James Casey, Royce was the first scholar to see the significance of the social composition of the vigilance committee. It seems that "the best men" of San Francisco thwarted mob rule by asserting their own social and economic power. It was, as Royce noted, "a businessman's revolution."[42]

Finally, Royce turned his attention to the emotionally charged dispute over land titles. He wanted respect for the promises given the Californios at the time of the conquest. Most of the guaranteed land titles were not honored because of "the rapacity" of "predatory disregard" exercised by Americans.[43] The Land Act of 1851, according to Royce, only slightly dignified the wholesale movement of land from Californian to American hands. Worse yet was that the Californians' land did not end up in the hands of ordinary Americans, but in the greedy hands of speculators and lawyers. Royce says this caused "lasting injury" to the whole state of California.

In his conclusion, Royce re-stated that California history was more than a local or regional concern. California in the 1850s was an immature society characterized by social irresponsibility, by people who



Artist Emanuel Wyttenbach executed this fine contemporary drawing, *A California Wedding Party of 1845,* which provides a glimpse of Californio gentility in the rancho period before the Gold Rush and American takeover. *Courtesy California State Library.*

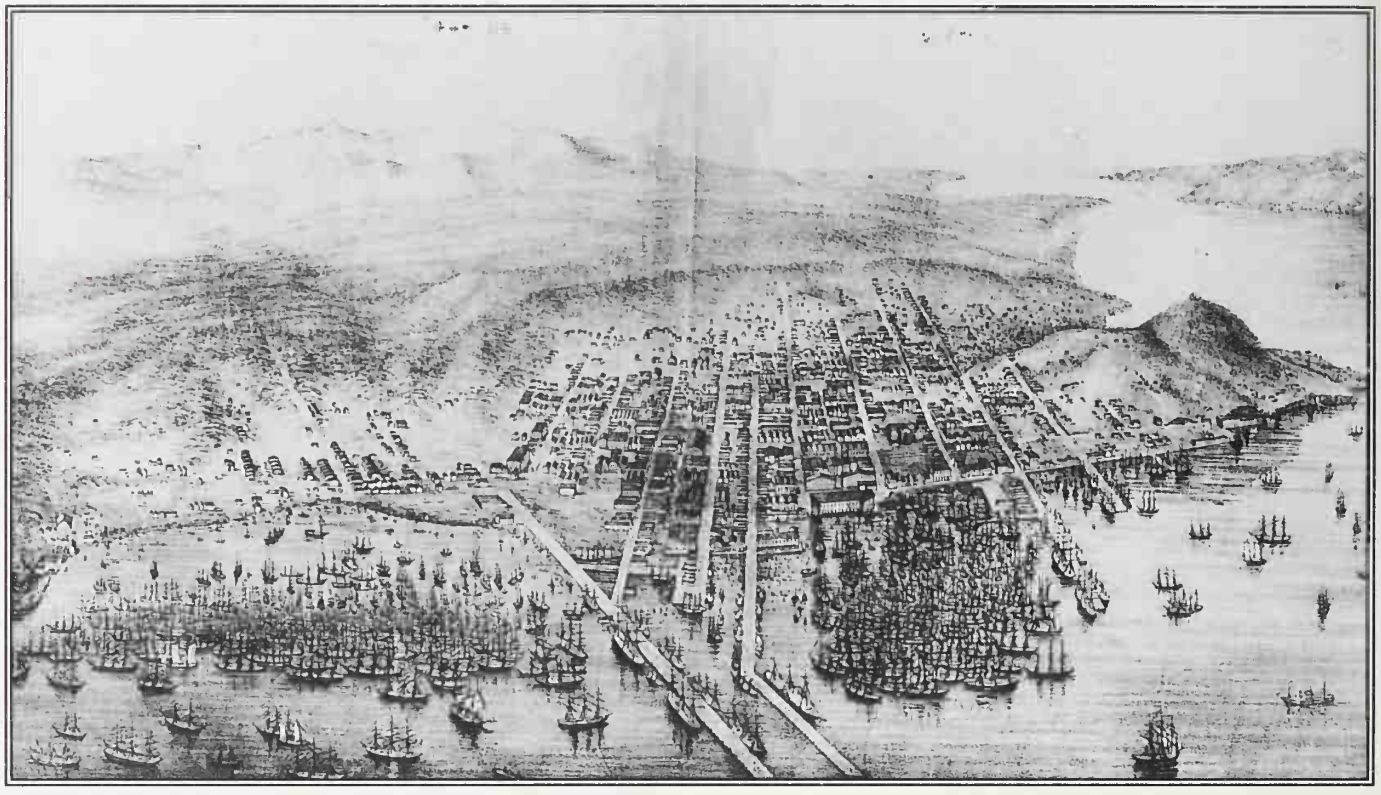
"love mere fullness of life and lack reverence for the relations of life."[44] Finally, the community did find a kind of social "salvation," but only because it learned lessons previously "despised and forgotten." For Royce, it was only by Californians "confessing" that past to each other that the way forward could be found.

The Aftermath of *California*

Following the publication of *California,* Royce's life entered a strange phase. Never a person to be coy or shy in telling any who would listen about his work, in the summer of 1886, he was unusually secretive. He concealed from his friends that he was writing—of all things—a novel. Several of his correspondents asked what he was writing, but to Millicent Shinn at *Overland Monthly* he said only that he was writing things "of a light sort, but such as make my pen swing a trifle."[45]

The "swinging" of Royce's pen did not bring forth a "trifle," but a huge book, and Royce apologized to his publisher, Horace Scudder, for its "portentous" length. He gave it a title that even a Victorian publisher could not have used, so that Royce's "Just Before Nightfall" was duly published by Houghton Mifflin as *The Feud of Oakfield Creek.* Some scholars of Royce's life and work are genuinely puzzled about Royce's motives for writing this novel and its place in his larger work. Perhaps Kevin Starr is right to suggest that *Oakfield Creek* is a reprise of Royce's intentions in *California.* That is, Royce tried to show that social duty and loyalty were the stuff of moral life, and that they were often sorely lacking in early California history.[46] The novel deals with archetypical California characters, such as the noble populist and the greedy capitalist, the latter probably patterned after Leland Stanford. Distinguished intent notwithstanding, it is not a very good novel, and it drew little positive criticism and few sales.

What was Royce thinking? A person with a great



San Francisco in 1852, lithograph by Britton and Rey. The remarkable concentration of ships in San Francisco Bay in the early 1850s alludes to the staggering population that rushed in for a chance at gold and rapidly transformed California from outpost to empire. *California Historical Society, FN-06041.*

future in philosophy, a secure position at Harvard, and the ability to write credible history did not need to wear himself out writing a poor novel. Moreover, Royce dedicated the novel to William James. Of the twenty books that Royce was to write, this was the least likely to be associated with the august name of William James. Royce's judgment is open to question here, and it bears on our interest in how he conducted himself in defense of *California*.

There is no doubt: Royce was worn out. He suffered a nervous breakdown during the academic year 1887-88. He couldn't write. He felt listless. His chronic insomnia increased. Showing his well-honed skill of denial, he said he was physically fit but mentally spent. While he looked well enough, he confessed that "the little devil in the brain is there all the time." Like many late-Victorian intellectuals who suffered breakdowns, Royce left his wife and children to take a curative holiday alone. Others preferred the baths of Switzerland and Germany, but Royce sailed south out of Boston in February 1888. He traveled around the Cape of Good Hope and by May he was in Australia. Somewhere along the way his "head-weariness" disappeared. After some time in Australia and New Zealand, Royce sailed to Oakland. After a family visit in California he arrived back in Cambridge just in time for the beginning of the new academic year in September 1888.[47]

These few details about Royce's breakdown and recovery are meant to highlight a question about Royce's judgment. Over the next three years Royce was to engage in two public controversies in which he was relentless in criticism of his opponents. One of the controversies was about a Cambridge philosopher, Francis Abbot, whom Royce belittled in print. The other was a renewal of the long-standing feud

with General and Mrs. Frémont. Perhaps the two public rows are connected, for they both concerned men whom Royce believed did not possess the stuff of greatness, but whose egos demanded public acclaim and honor. One of Royce's colleagues, George Herbert Palmer, later wrote of Royce as "perhaps overconsiderate in dealing with students of middling powers, he was exacting with men of capacity, impatient with pretenders, and scornful in exposing careless ignorance."[48] The two controversies went on at about the same time, during 1888-1891, when Royce was just back from recuperative leave. Although Royce himself was silent on the subject, readers of *The Nation* must have noticed that Royce was tilting against the windmills of both Abbot and Frémont. Even if Royce were correct in his positions, he seemed not to have been able to assess when he had won an argument or when to let go. When Royce was finished, the reputation of Abbot was ruined, and if Frémont's was not, it was not because Royce had backed off.

One of the most sensitive and insightful of Royce scholars, Frank Oppenheim, wrote a short monograph on Royce's breakdown and curative trip, but it contains surprisingly little about the state of Royce's soul and spirit. The author takes at face value Royce's own proclamation of restored health and vigor.[49] Perhaps we should leave it there too, but a question lingers about Royce being so fulsomely aggressive in the Abbot and Frémont matters. Royce felt fit and ready for what lay ahead in the fall of 1888. He wrote to his old mentor, Daniel Coit Gilman, that he felt "like a bent bow, all ready to thwang."[50] Well, "thwang" he did; and even if "the little devil" was no longer in his brain, Royce may still have appeared to be the devil to the family and supporters of John C. Frémont.

Four national magazines were drawn into the controversy between Royce and the Frémonts. During 1890 and 1891, *The Nation, Overland Monthly, Century*, and *Atlantic Monthly* would publish pieces from Royce. At first, Royce's editors were eager to receive his work, then after a while, they asked him to shorten assigned articles, and finally, to curtail them altogether.

Royce's sense of mission, and the passion behind it, can be seen in a letter to Robert Underwood Johnson, editor of *Century*, who had engaged Royce to edit some California documents. Royce laid out an elaborate publishing plan that would, once and for all, destroy the credibility of the Frémonts and of those who supported their version of history.[51] Royce was vexed by attempts put forth by the descendants and friends of the Frémonts to construct a history of heroism and progress: "Beware, I should say to any



Native son Josiah Royce studied at the University of California and Johns Hopkins and landed at Harvard, where he spent nearly his entire career as a professor of philosophy. The distinguished idealist appears here in a caricature drawn by Homer Davenport, whose sketches appeared in the *San Francisco Examiner* during the 1890s. *Courtesy The Bancroft Library.*

fellow student of those days, beware old Frémont's withered branch, beware the awful avalanche of yarns that the Sloat family, the children of the settlers and the like, have in store."[52] He was especially saddened by the fact that his old college friend, William Carey Jones, who had introduced Royce to Frémont, was not only lost as a friend, but was working with his aunt to produce a version of the story that contradicted Royce's. Later, in the face of accumulated disappointment, Royce wrote that he had only done his duty as a scholar in regard to Frémont; and that his only fault was being "prolix" on the subject.[53] No one would quarrel with Royce about prolixity; one might, however, wonder about his judgment in not being able to control it.

The first piece by Royce is the longest. Written only a few months after Frémont's death in 1890, Royce's article for *Atlantic Monthly* again laid out the case against the general.[54] Royce himself later judged the article "the most cold-bloodedly cussed thing that I ever attempted."[55] Royce uses as a foil an article published in France, proclaiming Frémont "the conqueror of California." With droll wit and cutting irony, Royce disputes the claim. While he would like the legend laid to rest, Royce observes Frémont's life as such a mixture of fact and fiction that it would take more than facts to dismiss the fiction. Once again, Royce recites the whole story: the Larkin dispatch, the Gillespie mission, the absence of credible evidence that Frémont had official instructions, and the poisoning of hope for good relations between Americans and native Californians. Royce's tone can be sensed from an excerpt:

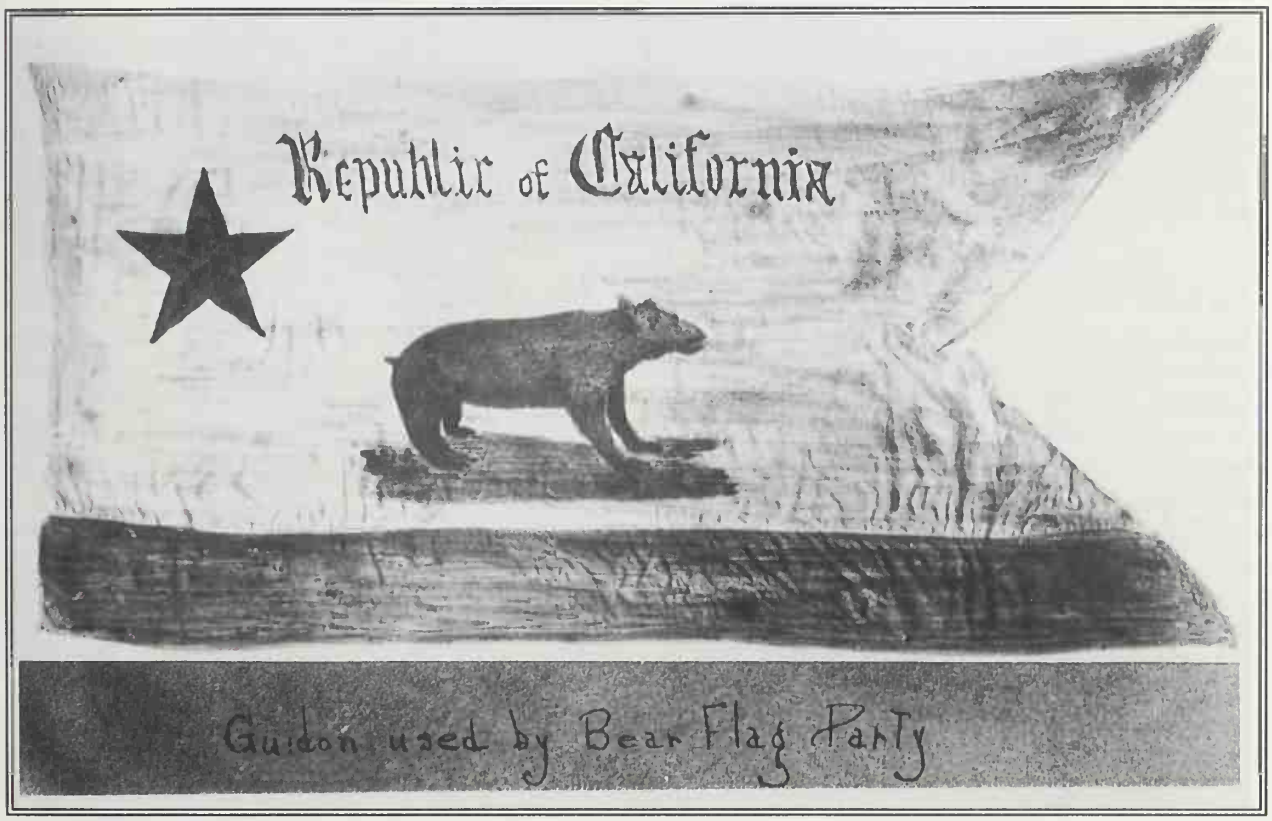
> The seizure of California in 1846 was one of the least credible affairs in the highly discreditable Mexican War . . . The whole criminal enterprise [was] . . . not so much against Mexico, who the whole war robbed, as against the native Californians. It was surely by no means good policy for our government to harass them in advance of the outbreak of the intended war with Mexico.[56]

Royce states flatly that Frémont's reputation stood not only on not following stated American policy, but on disobeying orders for his own glory and to the detriment of California life in the future.

There were two other matters of documentary concern by which Royce hoped to put the lid finally on the coffin of Frémont's ill-deserved fame. Frémont and his friends had made two assertions that, if true, would legitimate Frémont's actions. Royce, acting as ad hoc editor for *Century*, produced the relevant documents along with two pages of contextualizing commentary. First was the assertion of the Frémont faction that there was a "naval race" to California between British and American forces. If true, it could bolster Frémont's claim that he acted to thwart British designs on California. The documents printed seemed to indicate no realistic British threat to California.[57] Second, William Carey Jones and others asserted that Frémont acted when he knew that hostilities with Mexico had already begun. If true, this would exculpate Frémont from charges of disobeying the Polk and Buchanan policy of peaceful persuasion. But Royce produced documentary proof that Frémont could not have known about war prior to the Bear Flag revolt, including a letter from Frémont to Commodore Montgomery saying that the former would not initiate hostilities even if war broke out with Mexico.[58]

One might think that no more could be said on the subject. But Robert Underwood Johnson had already promised the Frémonts a final chance to rebut Royce, which produced one more wearisome round. Disappointed by the article Mrs. Frémont sent under the signature of her late husband, Johnson enlisted William Carey Jones to re-write it.[59] Two interesting points emerge.[60] At last, Frémont admitted that he had known about the Larkin dispatch all along; and former Secretary of the Navy George Bancroft disclosed that Gillespie had advised Frémont to exercise a relatively free hand in securing California for the United States. If this were true—that Frémont actually carried instructions from Washington—then Frémont's actions and reputation are validated.

Royce appealed to his old friends in publishing for a rejoinder, but both Johnson at *Century* and Shinn at *Overland Monthly* turned him down. Royce then appealed to Scudder, publisher of his *California* and editor of *Atlantic Monthly*. Scudder also declined, but asked Royce to consider writing a new edition of *California*, in the light of all the new evidence. But Royce wanted only to make one, short final statement "to set the thing at rest for all future



This "Bear Flag" guidon, or pennant, was made in June 1846 and was carried by American settlers who had descended upon the town of Sonoma, arguably without official dispensation, and declared California a republic. *Courtesy California State Library, McCurry Photograph Collection.*

students." He especially did not want to let this apparent refutation from the Frémont side stand "at the very moment when my own view is so near its final confirmation for all who are well-informed."[61]

The Nation did indeed publish Royce's final piece. He showed that Bancroft's statement to Frémont could not have been accurate. It was written, Royce said, by a friend trying to help a friend, and that Bancroft's memory, forty years later, was faulty. Further, Royce expressed his considerable distaste for the idea that Frémont had indeed known about the Larkin dispatch all along, especially since Frémont earlier had "insisted upon his denial to me, as a historical student, for publication in my book." Royce did not directly call Frémont a liar—tempering his opinions this time—but referred to the general's life as a "romance." Still, Royce's real passion rose up again, with some obvious bitterness, that Frémont

> thwarted [government policy toward the Californios] for his own glory, whereof he got a great deal. I should myself never think of attacking the Frémont legend so often were it not so unsubstantially immortal. I shall rejoice, indeed, if ever the pale ghost ceases to walk in the broad daylight. The twilight regions of our historical consciousness in this country will probably never be rid of it.[62]

Royce's prediction more than a century ago was mostly correct. Despite the facts refuting the Frémont myth, serious academic biographers produced titles such as *The West's Greatest Adventurer*.[63] Frémont's

most recent biographer holds out hope that Frémont had secret instructions, though he admitted that "we shall probably never know their full content."[64] Perhaps giving up on the Frémont myth would require a full-scale revision of the main narrative of a state in which the Bear Flag still flies above the capitol.

Royce's *California* and A New Narrative for California

In the past generation, there has been a sea-change in the way we think about American history. By way of conclusion, some mention is appropriate of how Royce's work can fit into the new way of approaching history. Among the vast literature about historical study, one recent book is singularly useful in demonstrating the ways in which history has changed. It is *Telling the Truth About History*, by Joyce Appleby, Lynn Hunt, and Margaret Jacob.[65] By "telling the truth" the authors do not mean to imply that other, prior historians were telling "lies." Rather, they mean that once there was a single narrative about American history that most Americans (African Americans and Native Americans excepted) accepted as part of their heritage. It was a story of achievement, of how a nation of immigrants made the first liberal democracy, and how that nation became the economic success story of modern world history. When American history is made to expand its range of vision beyond dominant groups, the historical picture changes. Today we want to know the experience of women, Indians, and other "outsiders" because we want to know a total history of the West, not just "how the West was won." Moreover, the practitioners of this newer mode of historical discourse question the whole notion of "conquest" in moral terms. Instead of how the West was "won," we look at the historic treatment of natives, nonwhites, women, and even the land itself, and we might ask how the West was abused, oppressed, and, some might even say, "raped." This, in short, is a discussion of a different order.

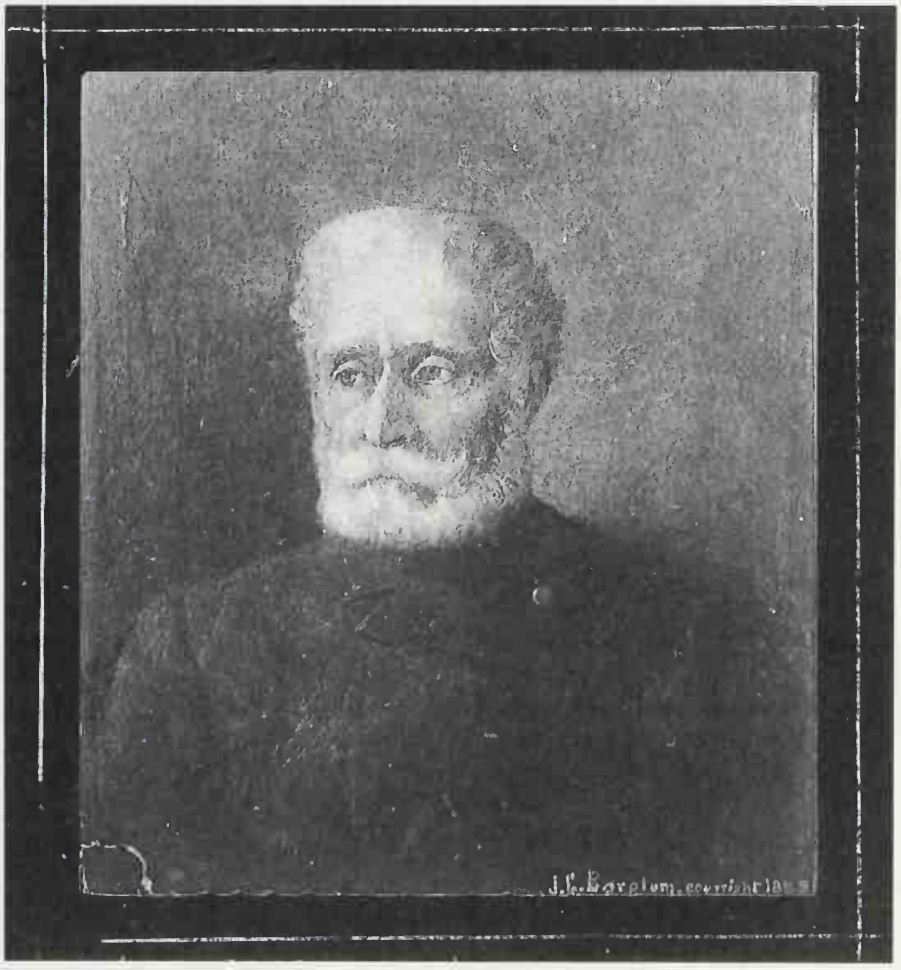
Distinguished contemporary California historian Kevin Starr congratulates recent historians for their new viewpoints, but he asks that they not lose sight of what he calls "the founding time" of (American) California. In the context of the Gold Rush he concedes that the scramble for wealth was not worth the cost of one Indian child's life. He writes with both insight and deep feeling,

> Would it be better that the Gold Rush never happened? Is that what we are saying? Is that what we are saying when we contemplate the tragic dimensions of experience? Would it be better that there were no California? That we not be here? Which is to say that America not be here?[66]

Starr approvingly quotes Patricia Limerick's remarks at a symposium held in conjunction with the opening of the "Gold Fever" exhibition in Oakland, California,[67] that human beings regularly do bad things. Starr invokes the Judeo-Christian tradition by calling these bad things "sins," which, when taken together "constitute a grave burden on the present because these sins are now a part of our living history."[68] Starr still wants to affirm the good and socially useful aspects of early California history. But, for him, that affirmation must always accompany an acknowledgement of "the sins of the fathers," and a determination "that these sins are not being recommitted in our own time." This is seen as California's "experiencing a prophetic probe, for better or for worse, of the larger American experience."[69]

As Robert Hine has suggested, Royce saw the history of the American West "as metaphysics," in which society moves from the willfulness of individualism to the social cohesion of genuine community.[70] The glue that holds the community together, and at the same time prevents collectivist statism, is what Royce called "loyalty," a word probably better re-defined in our time as "solidarity." Some Roycean interpreters think this to be an essentially "religious" insight that has much to say about American values. But the redoubtable critic Starr, who is conscious of "sin" in California's past, presses further: "And yet the moment we mention sin, we must also mention repentance, atonement, healing and forgiveness . . . But for all the tangled burden of the past . . . [California] is struggling toward redemption and the light."[71] Yet, despite Starr's impressive litany of "religious" actions, there is one missing: confession.

It is precisely here that Royce's *California* is so compelling. Despite Royce's high moral tone, there is no suggestion of a sectarian viewpoint, in which a par-



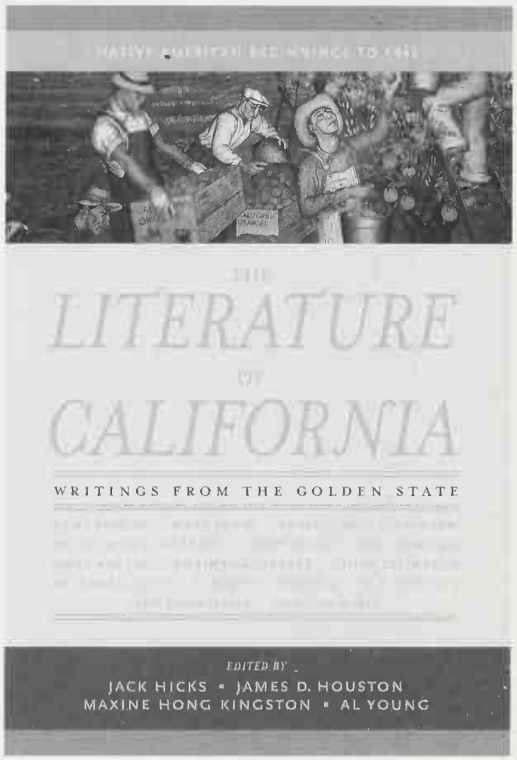
General John Charles Frémont, 1889, in a portrait painted near the end of his life by the young artist John Gutzon Borglum. Borglum later sculpted the presidents at Mount Rushmore, South Dakota. *Courtesy Huntington Library.*

ticular theological tradition or religious expression is recommended. Royce thought the early history of California to be of "divinely moral significance." He wrote his history for "any fellow Californian who may perchance note the faults of which I make confession."[72] He shows a way of social salvation, of solidarity within a community; for Royce that was the only saving grace. Whether or not Starr is right—that with "redemption" the "Pacific City on the Hill" can still flourish[73]—is for future generations of Californians to determine. CHS

See notes beginning on page 157.

Ronald A. Wells is professor of history at Calvin College, Grand Rapids, Michigan. He has written about the image of America in Europe in Alistair Cooke: America Observed (1988) *and on peace and war in* The Wars of America (1991) *and* People Behind the Peace: Community and Reconciliation in Northern Ireland (1998). *Another version of this article will appear as the introduction to a new edition of Royce's* California *in the* California Legacy Series *from Heyday Books, Berkeley.* *Mr. Wells thanks the Dirk and JoAnn Mellema Program in Western American Studies at Calvin College for research support.*

Edited by James J. Rawls



Courtesy University of California Press.

The Literature of California: Writings from the Golden State.

Edited by Jack Hicks, James D. Houston, Maxine Hong Kingston, and Al Young. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2000, xx, 633 pp., $24.95 paper, $60.00 cloth.)

Reviewed by Gerald W. Haslam, *professor emeritus of English at Sonoma State University and the editor of* Many Californias: Literature from the Golden State.

In the early 1990s, a graduate student of California literature contacted a number of east-coast editors and critics, asking them to list the most important writers and works from the Golden State. The responses were informative: one wrote "'California writers' isn't a significant category;" another responded, "There are none."

Those replies were sent at a time when California was already the home of more published writers than any other state—no contest. Due to its position as the alternative publishing movement's base, it was also producing as many new books as New York.

But the production of significant literature simply didn't fit the state's stereotype.

Well, so long stereotype, rendered ridiculous by this first of two volumes. Covering material "from precontact tribal times to 1945," volume one sets the stage for several themes that have characterized the state's literature: regional variety, ethnic diversity, literary experimentation.

Literary variation and cultural richness are demonstrated as early as "Part One: Indian Beginnings." This state clearly hosted a diverse, articulate population long before the European incursion. "Part Two: One Hundred Years of Conquest, 1769–1870" provides a sense of the wonder that struck newcomers who visited the far coast. Predictably, most of the writing is documentary rather than literary, although some of it is good indeed; for instance, excerpts from Louise Clappe, Bayard Taylor, and Richard Henry Dana, as well as John Rollin Ridge's invention of Joaquin Murieta.

As actually happened, literary quality surges in "Part Three: The Rise of a California Literature, 1865–1914." Suddenly, major literary voices—some well-known (Mark Twain, Frank Norris, Mary Austin, etc.), others less so (Ina Coolbrith, Yone Noguchi, Mary Hallock Foote, etc.)—elevated the quality of the state's literature, and widened its scope. Despite California's nativism and racism, the perspectives of non-whites were increasingly apparent.

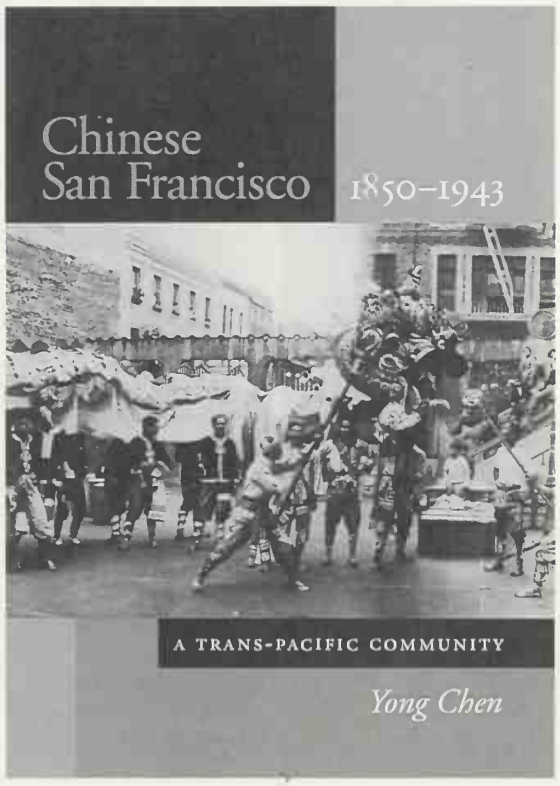
That theme is continued in "Part Four: Dreams and Awakenings 1915–1945," a period when—no matter that eastern critics like Edmund Wilson denied it—this state's literature surged, with major writers developing or settling all over the state: Robinson Jeffers, Dashiell Hammett, William Saroyan, John Steinbeck, Raymond Chandler, Nathaniel West . . . the usual suspects. More startling to readers is apt to be the talented sup-

Books sent to *California History* for review that are not reviewed, but pertain to the collection, are catalogued in the California Historical Society library.

porting cast: Chester Himes, Jade Snow Wong, Josephine Miles, Yvor Winters, and Toshio Mori, among others.

This book's table of contents offers outsiders a lesson in California's reality, for it suggests a state with great cultural richness, distinct regional variation, and loosened creative boundaries. As an old-time country musician once said of the Golden State, "The palette there's got lots more colors." So does the population.

If volume one of *The Literature of California* is a fair gauge, then this set will be as close to definitive as we're apt to see. "California is an intricate mosaic of subcultures, subregions, and microclimates," these savvy editors write, "easy to locate yet hard to find, it seems, in part because there are so many layers and so many ways of seeing it" (pp. 12–13). Because the editors recognize that complexity, they have put together the first volume of the most representative anthology California has yet enjoyed.



Courtesy of Stanford University Press.

Chinese San Francisco 1850–1943: A Trans-Pacific Community.

By Yong Chen. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000.)

Reviewed by Madeline Y. Hsu, *associate professor of Asian American Studies at San Francisco State University and author of* Dreaming of Gold, Dreaming of Home.

Academic approaches to China can be roughly divided into two camps: western-trained scholars who prefer theory and Chinese counterparts who prefer texts. Despite his American Ph.D., Yong Chen situates himself firmly in the latter camp by stressing his goal of "reconstruct[ing] Chinese San Franciscans' world from their own point of view [which] requires us to respect and try to use their own terminology, instead of employing the concepts and words invented for our times, especially those intended for only a few specialists"(p. 5).

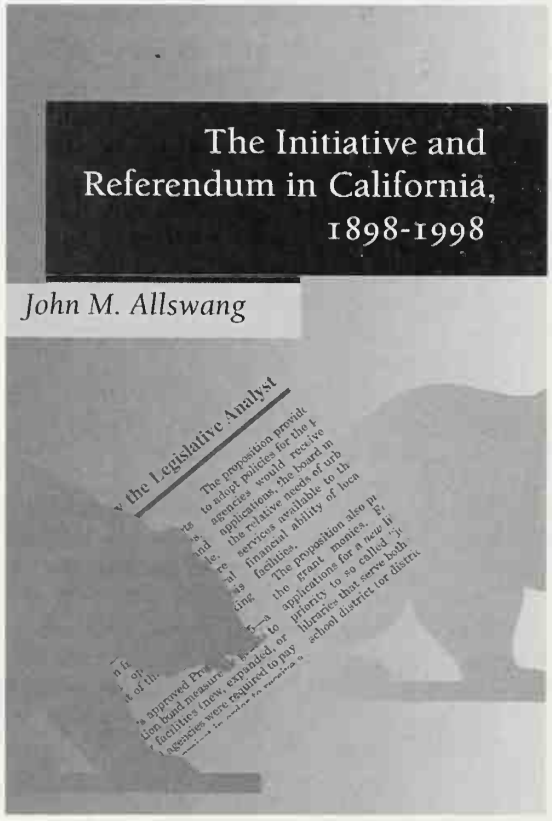
To this end, he employs an array of both Chinese and English-language primary sources to narrate the first century of North America's most famous Chinatown. Through documents like newspapers, government reports, missionary accounts, diplomatic writings, local histories, and diaries, he traces the tense, nineteenth-century negotiations between a developing trans-Pacific Chinese community that resisted a "hegemonic ideology of assimilation" and an increasingly exclusionary public climate (p. 264). After 1900, his sources reveal that Chinese San Franciscans became more politically active in both domestic and Chinese national affairs in the belief that Chinese Americans could combat Euro-American racism primarily by improving China's international standing.

Chen's greatest contribution is his use of Chinese-language sources. Until the 1990s, most Chinese American scholars have been U.S.-born with limited ability to read the language of these immigrants. Chen represents a new generation whose bilingual abilities greatly enhance our understanding of this transnational community. He mines anecdotes that are rich in implication. For example, Chen's main Chinese source for the nineteenth century, Ah Quin's diary, recounts a dispute with his wife about whether their maid/adopted daughter will become his concubine. His losing struggle and the local community's eagerness

to marry the girl to another illustrates the enhanced status of Chinese wives in America and the imbalance of Chinese men to women (p. 123).

The revealing nature of such primary documents could be fuller, however, if Chen provided more explicit explanation of their limits. The scarcity of Chinese-language sources, especially for the nineteenth century, severely checks his ability "to revisit the world of Chinese immigrants as they knew and experienced it themselves," forcing him to draw extensively upon outsider, English-language accounts (p. 3). Thus Chen cannot provide much description of the secret societies that ran the pervasive drug, prostitution, and protection rackets. Ah Quin's diary was written primarily in San Diego after the author's two-year stay in San Francisco. Chen does not examine how the Christianity of both Ah Quin and Ng Poon Chew, who edited the *Chinese-Western Daily* featured prominently in Chen's discussion of twentieth-century affairs, affected their representativeness as spokesmen for "Chinese San Francisco." Despite his emphasis on texts, Chen cannot avoid employing "specialist" terms such as transnationalism, sojourner, settler, acculturation, and cultural nationalism, for which he provides scant definition.

General audiences will enjoy this vivid depiction of Chinatown politics and insider perspectives on tourism. Experts in immigration, ethnicity, and western American history will find this an illuminating if frustrating encounter with a tantalizing new array of sources presented with limited participation in ongoing debates.



Courtesy of Stanford University Press.

The Initiative and Referendum in California, 1898–1998.

By John M. Allswang. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000, 352 pp., $24.95 paper, $61.00 cloth.)

Reviewed by Eugene C. Lee, *professor emeritus of political science, University of California, Berkeley.*

There are myriad ways in which to view the history of California. John Allswang, professor of history at California State University, Los Angeles, has his own lens, to which he has devoted years of scholarship: the institution of direct democracy and its impact upon the politics of California. It is a lens with a wide perspective. As Allswang suggests, "to study the initiative and referendum is to study a microcosm of the major sociocultural, economic, political, and other issues that the people and politicians have cared about, in the state and beyond."

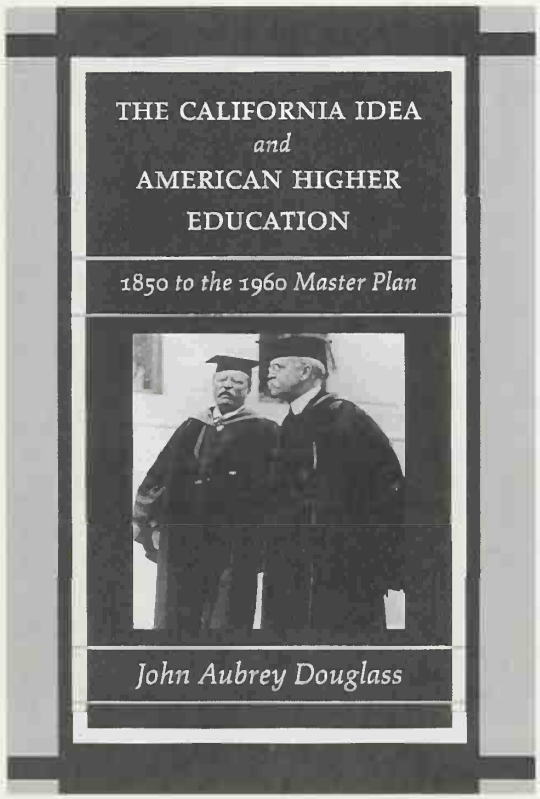
"This is a work of history," Allswang indicates, "not one of policy analysis, predictions, or prescription for change." The focus is "on the way in which California and American problems and issues—and group interests—were reflected in battles over direct legislation, what decisions were made in these matters by the people of the state." Following the introduction of direct democracy in 1911, three hundred initiatives and referendums appeared on the ballot through 1998, of which 100 were approved by the voters. Allswang does not attempt to deal with all 300, although a highly useful appendix lists them all. Instead, he concentrates on measures that, in his opinion, encompass major trends and group conflicts in a given time period, that

are very important and/or divisive, that appear repeatedly, or that reveal major forces that operate in California at a particular time.

The book opens with a comprehensive description of the origins of the initiative and referendum. This is followed by five chronological chapters, with topical discussions within each, covering some of the major policy and political initiatives of the particular period—for example, civil rights, environmental issues, Proposition 13 and its aftermath, insurance, redistricting. A detailed and complete index facilitates a focus on a particular policy area, cutting across time.

From the start, the role of money and the growth of the initiative industry—lawyers, pollsters, media specialists—are highlighted. Allswang describes how many of these seemingly modern aspects of the initiative process had their origins decades ago. In 1923, a legislative committee concluded that "too much money is being spent on initiatives, providing 'a menace to our election system'." Professional signature-gathering dates from at least 1918. Allswang concludes, "By the end of the 1930s, direct legislation had modernized and professionalized."

Allswang ends his highly useful analysis "with a good many questions." Many aspects of the initiative process—signature-gathering, polling, fund-raising, the role of the courts, to suggest but a few themes—require more scrutiny and evaluation. Nevertheless, Allswang has reached a few sobering conclusions: "Most initiatives are decided by a small and unrepresentative body of voters . . . they are often badly drawn, extreme, and subject to judicial revocation . . . they are frequently qualified or invalidated by the courts . . . they are, like Proposition 13, reflections of immediate crises, with little concern for long-term effects." This book provides a solid historical foundation for continued research on the realities of the initiative, an institution critical to the future of California, where more people vote on more issues than anywhere in the world.



Courtesy of Stanford University Press.

The California Idea and American Higher Education: 1850 to the 1960 Master Plan.

By John Aubrey Douglass. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000, xvi, 460 pp., $55.00 cloth.)

Reviewed by Irving G. Hendrick, *professor and dean emeritus, Graduate School of Education, University of California, Riverside, and author of* California Education: A Brief History.

The heart of the story told by John Aubrey Douglass concerns the often messy and sometimes spontaneous politics of centralized planning in California higher education since statehood. Douglass refers to the achievements of this process as the "California Idea," defined as a nationally unique state effort initiated early in the twentieth century to create high quality institutions and to increase access to higher education. Standing as a lasting tribute to the planners—and those who executed their plans—is the California Master Plan for Higher Education

of 1960. A bit more than half of the book is devoted to the accelerated planning, institution building, and enrollment growth that occurred after 1930.

Like other Western states, California after 1868 had a state university, one that embraced—albeit not without some internal identity conflict—both the historically respected liberal traditions of learning and practical subjects, such as agriculture and mechanical sciences emanating from the Morrill Act of 1862. Also similar to the national pattern, beginning in 1862 and continuing through the first two decades of the twentieth century, California developed a steadily growing number of state-supported normal schools. By 1921 most of these had evolved into teachers colleges, and by 1935 into state colleges, with curricula broader than teacher education. However, unlike other states, beginning in the 1910s leadership from faculty and administrative officers at the University of California and Stan-

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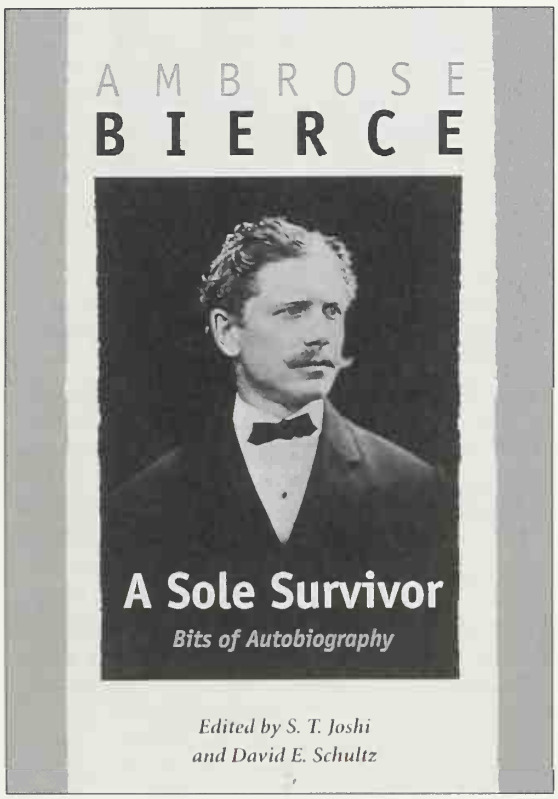
Kline traces this growing public interest by looking at a variety of sources, including the nationwide correspondence of the influential Human Betterment Foundation in Pasadena, California and the medical and patient records of a "model" state institution that sterilized thousands of allegedly feebleminded women in California between 1900 and 1960.
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ford University enabled the state to pioneer in the creation of junior colleges. These new institutions offered lower division collegiate instruction, with programs intended to prepare their graduates for transfer to the University of California and, in the early years, also to Stanford.

The heart of the story told by Douglass as well and as completely as possible in the space allotted concerns how these very diverse institutional creations were fashioned into a large and coherent state mission of higher education. While the master plan was the culmination event, it was preceded by the work of numerous study commissions and legislative actions spanning nearly thirty years, not to mention the usual displays of community and regional advocacy that led to the creation of many new campuses. In the end, no institution or force was all-powerful. The creation of the University of California as a public trust, with constitutional autonomy for deciding its own direction after 1879, gave it the greatest share of power and financial resources. Yet, the university was not powerful enough to stop the creation of new state college campuses nor frustrate for very long the expansion of their instructional missions. The great population growth in California after World War II, taken with a large state budget surplus accumulated during that war, produced unprecedented public pressure to build new campuses. Equipped with ample incentive and resources, university leaders, several state college presidents, and public officials representing the larger state budget interests were able to negotiate plans that produced a coherent tri-partite mission for public higher education. This is their story as presented by Douglass.



Courtesy University of Tennessee Press.

A Sole Survivor: Bits of Autobiography.

By Ambrose Bierce. Edited by S.T. Joshi and David E. Schulz. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1998, xxvi, 356 pp., $38.00 cloth.)

Reviewed by Gary Scharnhorst, *professor of English at the University of New Mexico and author of* Bret Harte: Opening the American Literary West.

This volume of autobiographical selections from Ambrose Bierce's published and private writings should forever discredit the "bitter Bierce" caricature, the mistaken critical assumption that Ambrose Bierce was a sardonic misanthrope. It traces in detail the parabola of his life, from his experiences during the Civil War, his arrival in San Francisco in 1867, his sojourn in England in the early 1870s, his work on behalf of the Hearst newspapers and magazines in the prime of his career, to his mysterious disappearance in Mexico in 1914. In fact, in these life-writings Bierce is a remarkably sympathetic figure, a military hero and an uncompromising enemy of sham and avarice

who did not suffer sycophants gladly. He was a cynic, too, as he defined the term in *The Devil's Dictionary:* "A blackguard whose faulty vision sees things as they are, not as they ought to be."

To his credit, Bierce commended the fighting spirit of the Confederate Army ("as a rule the Confederates fought better than our men" [p. 62]), defended "the fighting qualities of our colored regiments" (p. 63), and sympathized with the Chinese underclass in California. He did not shrink from excoriating presidents and generals, as when he referred to James Garfield's assassination in 1881 as "a colossal practical joke" (p. 185) or when he described General O.O. Howard as "skilled in the tactics of confusion and the strategy of retreat." Had Howard been born a few years later, Bierce declared, "it would have been greatly to the advantage of his military reputation outside church circles, and would have saved us two years of war" (p. 44). Bierce thought Oscar Wilde a "sovereign of insufferables," an "intellectual jellyfish," his lecture in San Francisco in 1882 "mere verbal ditchwater" (p. 192).

Though he disclaimed any pretense to literary greatness, Bierce was an uncommon craftsman who coined such neologisms as "mobgabble" (p. 147) and such apothegms as "Who writes well writes what he will; who writes ill writes what he must" (p. 154). In all, as this new edition of his autobiographical writing demonstrates, he merits modern attention as a type of Jeremiah howling into the wind.

Not that it illuminates all biographical blindspots. Mollie Day Bierce, the wife Bierce spurned when he learned she received letters from an admirer, remains an obscure figure; Bierce never mentioned her publicly and rarely privately. A reader of this volume may fairly yearn for more information about Bierce's relations with prominent California writers of the late nineteenth century, including Bret Harte, Ina Coolbrith, Mark Twain, Charles Warren Stoddard, Charlotte Perkins Stetson (a.k.a. Gilman), and Joaquin Miller; or for more complete accounts of his misogyny, as when he announced that "with rare exceptions" women who write "are destitute, not only of common sense, but of the sense of right and wrong—they are moral idiots" (p. 229).

While the book opens with such exquisite Civil War reminiscences as "What I Saw of Shiloh," *A Sole Survivor* ends not with a bang but a whimper, with an essay in which Bierce whines about dogs and with letters in which he complains about the proofreaders of his *Collected Works*. After a final chapter entitled "The End," the editors insert an anticlimactic epilogue, and then add an appendix. Still, Bierce's reputation is well-served by the volume, which ought to find a place on the shelves of scholars of California history and literature. CHS



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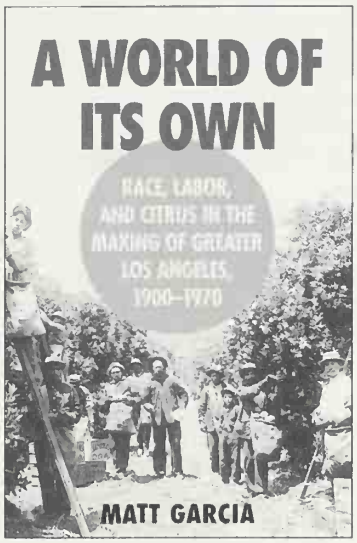
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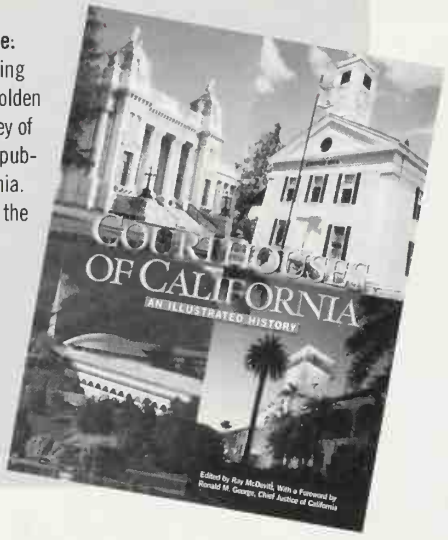









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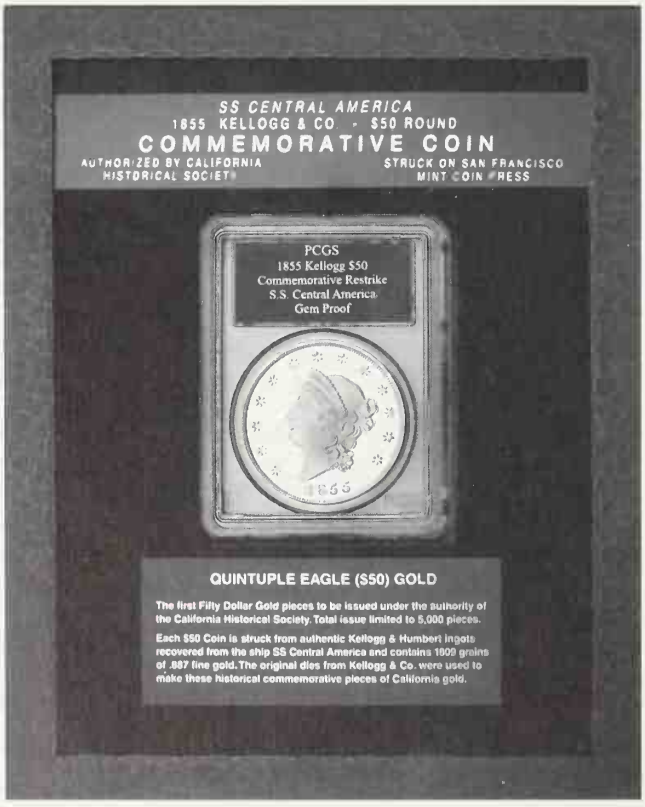
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'erge, "Freeth, King of the Surfers" pp. 82-105.

. In discussing George Freeth, legendary surf historian John Heath "Doc" Ball wrote, "Too little is known about a great and colorful figure in California's aquatic history." For over seventy years, much of Freeth's life has been passed down to ocean lifeguards and surfers through oral history. Understandably in this process many myths and incorrect information have been given. Therefore the author wishes to gratefully acknowledge the tireless assistance of Elayne Alexander, Dave Kastigar, and the late Gloria Snyder in going through hundreds of rolls of newspaper microfilms to carefully document the life of George Freeth. The author also wishes to thank L.A. County Lifeguard Chief Karl "Bud" Bohn, Charles Johnson, Sandy Hall, and Daved Marsh for their unique insights into surf culture; fellow historians Elayne Alexander, Ron Love, Gloria Miranda, Brad Reynolds, Hank Silka, and Jim Kraft for their editorial assistance; Captain Dave Story and the Los Angeles County Lifeguard Trust Fund; as well as the generosity of the John Randolph Haynes and Dora Haynes Foundation, for helping to finance photo work and microfilm costs; and Professor William Doyle, Jackie Booth, Shirley MacDonald, William and May Borthwick, the Los Angeles Athletic Club, the Hawaiian State Archives, the City of Redondo Beach Historical Museum, and the Santa Cruz Surfing Museum without whose support and assistance this project would not have reached fruition.

2. George Douglas Freeth, Jr., is buried in Oahu Cemetery (2162 Nuuanu Ave., Honolulu). His grave site is located in Section 10, Lot 100, Plot Number 6. His cremated remains share the grave site with his younger brother Alexander Rupert (1885-1888).
3. George F. Nellist, ed., *The Story of Hawaii and Its Builders* 3 vols. (Honolulu, Hawaii: Star Bulletin, 1925), 3:108-109.
4. George Freeth, Sr., like his father-in-law, was English-born and bred. The son of Major General James Holt Freeth of the British Royal Engineers, George, Sr., and his brother Edward, took to the sea, both men rising to the level of Master Mariner. Each would captain ships, with George Freeth, Sr., often sailing routes between Hawaii and San Francisco, as well as from Honolulu to Layson Island in the Pacific.
5. A photo of George as captain of the Healani Swim Team appears in the February 16, 1907, edition of *The Pacific Commercial Advertiser.*
6. *Mercury Magazine* 3, no. 10 (October 1914): 39. An insightful biography of Duke Kahanamoku is Joe Brennan, *Duke: The Life Story of Hawaii's Duke Kahanamoku* (Honolulu: KU PA `A Publishing, 1994).
7. An interesting biography of Ford and his life is Valerie Noble, *Hawaiian Prophet: Alexander Hume Ford* (New York: Exposition Press, 1980).
8. One New England missionary in Hawaii, Hiram Bingham (1798-1869), reflected in 1847 that "The . . . discontinuance of the use of the surfboard, as civilization advances, may be accounted for by the increase in modesty, industry, and religion. . . ." in Bingham, *A Residence of Twenty-One years in the Sandwich Islands* (Hartford, CT: H. Huntington, and New York: Sherman Converse, 1847) 17.
9. Alexander Hume Ford, "Learning to Surf," *Mid-Pacific Magazine* 75, no. 2 (February 1911): 155.
10. A good account of Ford's founding of the Outrigger Canoe and Surfboard Club can be found in Leonard Lueras, *Surfing: The Ultimate Pleasure* (New York: Workman Publishing, 1984), 68-74. In 1911, local surfers, including Duke Kahanamoku, became disenchanted with the club and its growing elitism. The dissenters, many of whom were local beach boys, formed their own club called Hui Nalu ("Club of the Waves"). Its first "Commodore" was Edward Kaleleihealani "Dude" Miller, who was one of George Freeth's closest friends.
11. *The Pacific Commercial Advertiser,* July 3, 1907.
12. The Congressional fact-finding tour of Hawaii lasted more than two months, from May 8 to mid-July 1907. Among those on the tour were 28 members of Congress. In the early days of the tour, when Freeth was accompanying the delegates, several of the legislators and their aides went to Waikiki Beach where they attempted to learn to surf, presumably under Freeth's instruction. *The Pacific Commercial Advertiser,* May 11, 1907.
13. Noble, *Hawaiian Prophet,* p. 45.
14. Jack London, "Riding the South Sea Surf," *Women's Home Companion,* October 1907, p. 10.
15. London, "A Royal Sport," *Cruise of the Snark* (New York: The Macmillian Company, 1911), p. 76.
16. *The Pacific Commercial Advertiser,* July 3, 1907.
17. Based on documentation provided by the Santa Cruz Surfing Museum, the sport of surfing was first demonstrated in California in July of 1885 by three members of the Royal Hawaiian Family, Prince Jonah Kuhio Kalaniana and Princes David and Edward Kawananakoa. The three young men, who attended St. Matthews Military School in San Mateo, spent several summers in the

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beach resort community of Santa Cruz. The city's local paper, *The Daily Surf,* first reported their surfing in its July 20, 1885, edition. While other local beachgoers would take up the sport in the wake of the princes' exhibition, surfing had limited appeal there due to the region's cool ocean temperatures and large waves.

18. An excellent account of Kinney's early development of Venice, California, can be found in Carolyn Elayne Alexander, *Abbot Kinney's Venice-of-America: The Golden Years: 1905-1920* (Decorah, Ia.: Anundsen Publishing Company, 1991), pp. 9-11.
19. Although some have speculated that Freeth was lured to Redondo Beach at the behest of railroad and land magnate Henry E. Huntington (the nephew of the better-known Southern Pacific developer Collis P. Huntington), there is no evidence to support such a contention.
20. James Thorpe, *Henry Edwards Huntington: A Biography* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), p. 205.
21. David Shanahan, *Old Redondo* (Redondo Beach: Legends Press, 1982), p. 55.
22. The ocean waters off California remain extremely treacherous. Ocean drownings today, however, are rare given the year-round professional lifeguard services provided by various coastal municipalities. In 1999, for example, on the stretch known as Venice North (Beach), which is less than two miles in length, over two thousand ocean rescues were performed.
23. *The Daily Outlook,* May 29, 1907.
24. Ibid., May 14, 1907.
25. From two original handbills in the Jerry Witt scrapbook, City of Redondo Beach Historical Museum.
26. Charles Hinch, "The Man Who Walked On Water: America's First Surfer in Redondo Beach," *South Bay Magazine,* July 1980, p. 22.
27. F.S. Haynes, "Wave of the Future," *Westways Magazine,* October 1976, p. 31.
28. *The Daily Outlook,* August 24, 1907.
29. Ibid., November 9, 1907.
30. Ibid., June 11, 1907.
31. Two excellent accounts of the history of the U.S. Lifesaving Service are Dennis Noble, *That Others Might Live: The U.S. Life-Saving Service, 1878-1915* (Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1994) and Irving H. King, *The Coast Guard Expands, 1865-1915: New Roles, New Frontiers* (Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1996).
32. On October 23, 1907, the Venice lifesavers voted 24 to 3 to remain independent of the U.S. Volunteer Lifesaving Corps. In late July 1908 the Venice Lifesaving Corps agreed to become part of the federal government lifesaving service. See *The Daily Outlook,* October 24, 1907, and July 27, 1908.
33. Ibid., November 11, 1907.
34. Ibid., December 17, 1907.
35. The Venice Pier was also known before 1921 as the Abbot Kinney Pier.
36. Accounts of Freeth's rescue and that of his crew were compiled from the December 16-17, 1908, editions of the following newspapers: *The Daily Outlook, The Los Angeles Times, The Los Angeles Tribune, The Los Angeles Express,* and *The Herald Examiner.*
37. *The Los Angeles Times,* December 17, 1908.
38. This article is quoted at length in *The Honolulu Star Bulletin,* June 6, 1952.
39. The sworn affidavits and nomination letters for Freeth's Congressional Gold Medal are found in the National Archives, under the name of George Freeth, Jr. The affidavits and letters were originally submitted to the United States Treasury Department which, at the time, had jurisdiction over the United States Volunteer Life-Saving Service.
40. The Congressional Gold Medal remains the highest honor a civilian can receive from the United States government. Each recipient is given a specially minted gold coin that denotes his particular achievements. Recipients include Winston Churchill, Mother Teresa, and Rosa Parks.
41. *The Los Angeles Times,* January 2, 1909.
42. An interesting account of lifesavers and their reliance on and use of lifeboat crews along the New Jersey coastline in 1916 can be found in Richard G. Fernicola, *Twelve Days of Terror: A Definitive Investigation of the 1916 New Jersey Shark Attacks* (Guilford, Conn.: The Lyons Press, 2001).
43. It is important to note that Freeth was not alone in taking the lead in changing the concept of "lifesavers" to "lifeguards." British-born Captain T.W. Sheffield (1870-1952), a champion swimmer who later settled in Santa Monica, was a leading figure in professionalizing the local lifeguard corps to be on constant patrol. A copy of his unpublished biography is in the Los Angeles County Lifeguard Archives, Manhattan Beach.
44. Although Freeth has been credited by several writers with being the first to introduce water polo to the United States, the game was already being played along the East Coast before his arrival in California. See *The Pacific Commercial Advertiser,* February 3, 1907. In February 1907, several Hawaiian swim clubs organized together to form the island's first water polo league, of which Freeth and his Healanis swim team were members. *The Pacific Commercial Advertiser,* February 22, 1907.
45. Not only was Freeth an explosive scorer, at one point he moved to the position of goalie and had four straight shutouts, a feat as rare for a water polo goalie as a no-hitter is for a baseball pitcher.
46. *The Redondo Breeze,* April 18, 1912, and *The Redondo Reflex,* April 25, 1912.
47. *The Redondo Reflex,* November 8, 1912.
48. *The Redondo Breeze,* May 17, 1913.
49. *The Redondo Reflex,* June 21, 1912.
50. Ibid., June 11, 1913.
51. Ibid., March 7, 1913.
52. *The Redondo Breeze,* May 31, 1913.
53. *The Redondo Reflex,* July 12, 1913.
54. *The Redondo Breeze,* September 13, 1913.
55. Ibid., October 4, 1913.
56. *Mercury Magazine* 3, no. 10 (October 1914): 39.
57. A very brief but helpful account of the San Diego Rowing Club's early history can be found in Dick Barthelmess, "The Clubhouse on Steamship Wharf," *Journal of San Diego History,* October 1960, pp. 94-97.
58. The San Diego Rowing Club Minutes, Collection Number 8, San Diego Historical Society Research Archives.
59. Ibid., Minutes for November 8, 1917, and December 27, 1917.
60. From May 8, 1918, Inquest Report, Schuyler Kelly, Coroner, Medical Examiner's Office, County of San Diego.
61. *The San Diego Union,* May 12, 1918.
62. Ibid., July 17, 1918.
63. Ibid., March 20, 1919.
64. Gina Kolata, *Influenza: The Story of the Great Influenza Pandemic of 1918 and the Search for the Virus That Caused It* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1999), p. 7.
65. Ibid.
66. *The San Diego Union,* December 7, 1918.

. County of San Diego, Death Certificate of George Douglas Freeth, Jr., April 7, 1919. California State Index No. 941-248.
. *The San Diego Union*, March 20, 1919, and *The Long Beach Press*, March 29, 1919.
. Hinch, "The Man Who Walked on Water," p. 23.
. *The San Diego Union*, April 12, 1919.

hields, "Eternal Life," pp. 106-123.

Max Stern, "Twenty-five Great Californians, No. 21, Gottardo Piazzoni: His Religion is California," Archives of American Art, reel 1902, frame 329.
Louise E. Taber, "Gottardo Piazzoni and Rinaldo Cuneo Discuss Art," *The Wasp*, 5 January 1918.
. Gene Hailey, ed., *Abstract from California Art Research*, W.P.A. Project 2874, O.P. 65-3-3632, Vol. 7 (San Francisco: Works Progress Administration, 1937), p. 82.
. Laura Bride Powers, "Brave Showing of Western Artists," *San Francisco Call*, 2 April 1905, p. 19.
. Stern, "Great Californians."
. Alfred Frankenstein, "Quietest Murals in History," *San Francisco Chronicle*, 21 August 1975, p. 48.
. Franklin Walker, *The Seacoast Of Bohemia* (Santa Barbara and Salt Lake City: Peregrine Smith, Inc., 1973), p. 94.
3. Letter from Mireille Piazzoni Wood to Mary Fabilli, 7 April 1976, Gottardo Piazzoni Papers, Archives of American Art. No. 1902, Fr. 291.
). Henry T. Hopkins et al., *Painting and Sculpture in California: The Modern Era* (San Francisco: San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, 1977), p. 22.
10. In 1917, six plein-air painters in Oakland—William Clapp, August Gay, Selden Gile, Maurice Logan, Louis Siegriest, and Bernard von Eichman—joined together to form an association called the Society of Six. Known for their vivid colors, vibrant energy and raw and expressive brushwork they were pioneers of modernism in northern California. For a discussion of the Society of Six, see Nancy Boas, *The Society of Six: California Colorists* with Foreword by Charles C. Eldredge (San Francisco: Bedford Arts, 1988; reprint ed., Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1997).
11. Florence Wieben Lehre, "The Oakland Annual," *The Argus*, Vol. II, No. 5 (February 1928), p. 10.
12. Maxwell Armfield, *An Artist in America* (London: Methuen & Co., Ltd., 1925), p. 116.
13. Letter from Ralph Stackpole to Mireille Piazzoni Wood, n.d., Gottardo Piazzoni Papers, Archives of American Art. No. 1902, Fr. 274.
14. Author interview with Mireille Piazzoni Wood and Philip R. Wood, San Francisco, California, 19 October 1996. Gottardo Piazzoni's daughter and son-in-law, Philip and Mireille, provided firsthand accounts of Piazzoni and his work for this article. Artists themselves, they were privy to Piazzoni's working methods and theories. They also directly benefited from his teaching skills.
15. Ibid.
16. Ibid. Similarly told in Harvey L. Jones, *Twilight and Reverie: California Tonalist Painting 1890-1930* (Oakland California: The Oakland Museum, 1995), p. 5.
17. Letter from Gottardo Piazzoni to Ralph Stackpole, 12 November 1922, Arthur Putnam Papers, Lent by Mireille Piazzoni Wood and Philip R. Wood to the M. H. de Young Memorial Museum, San Francisco, Calif.
18. Letter from Piazzoni to Stackpole, 15 February 1923, Arthur Putnam Papers.
19. J. Nilsen Laurvik, "Foreword," Catalogue of the 1918 San Francisco Art Association Annual Exhibition (San Francisco: Palace of Fine Arts, 1918), pp. 11-12.
20. Letter from Gottardo Piazzoni to Albert Bender, 3 January 1928, Piazzoni files, No. 580, Albert Bender papers, Mills College, Oakland, Calif.
21. Michael Williams, "Piazzoni's Mural Decorations," *News Setter*, 22 May 1915, Gottardo Piazzoni Papers, Archives of American Art, M. H. de Young Memorial Museum. No. 1902, Fr. 328.
22. Stern, "Great Californians."
23. Michael Williams, "The Pageant of California Art," in *Art in California* (San Francisco: R. L. Bernier, Publishers, 1916; reprint ed., Irvine, California: Westphal Publishing, 1988), p. 61.
24. Notably in Jones, *Twilight and Reverie: California Tonalist Painting 1890-1930*.
25. Helen Spangenberg, *Yesterday's Artists on the Monterey Peninsula* (Monterey, California: Monterey Peninsula Museum of Art, 1976), p. 28.
26. Similar in Jones, *Twilight and Reverie: California Tonalist Painting 1890-1930*, p. 2.
27. Charles C. Eldredge, "Wedded to Nature: The Art of Charles Burchfield," in *Life Cycles: The Charles E. Burchfield Collection*, ed. Nancy Weekly (Buffalo, New York: Burchfield-Penney Art Center, Buffalo State College, 1994), p. 15.
28. Eugene Neuhaus, *The History and Ideals of American Art*, quoted in Hailey, p. 80.
29. Hanifin, quoted in Hailey, p. 68.
30. Reprinted lecture by Russell Chatham, "A Reflection on Gottardo Piazzoni," Hertz Hall, University of California at Berkeley, California, 26 September 1987. Chatham (born 1939) is a nationally known painter, printmaker, and writer. Along with cousin Thomas Wood, he represents the third generation in the Piazzoni family to make art, working in a style that can at times be startlingly similar to that of his grandfather.
31. Josephine Mildred Blanch, "A Western Painter: The Art of Gottardo Piazzoni," *Overland Monthly*, Vol. LIV, No. 5 (November, 1909), p. 462.
32. John Elder, "Introduction" to Ralph Waldo Emerson, *Nature*, and Henry David Thoreau, *Walking*, (Boston: Beacon Press, 1991), p. xvi.
33. Letter from Piazzoni to Stackpole, 14 April 1922, Arthur Putnam Papers.
34. John Elder, "Introduction" to Emerson, *Nature*, and Thoreau, *Walking*, p. vii.
35. John Muir, *The Yosemite* (The Century Company, 1912; reprint ed., Garden City, New York: Anchor Books, Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1962), p. 202.
36. Ibid., pp. 2-3.
37. Jones, *Twilight and Reverie: California Tonalist Painting 1890-1930*, p. 6.
38. Ibid., p. 5.
39. Michael Williams, "The Pageant of California Art," p. 62
40. Ibid. The premise of this statement recalls the much earlier Transcendental writings of English author Thomas Carlyle, who similarly stated in the text of *Sartor Resartus*:, "All eternal reality is but the expression of a greater reality. That greater reality is the Divine Idea of the World, the momentous fact of God's existence and His maintenance of the universe. Thomas Carlyle, *Sartor Resar-*

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tus, in A *Carlyle Reader: Selections from the Writings of Thomas Carlyle*, ed. G. B. Tennyson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), p. 123.

41. Born in Scotland, William Keith (1838-1911) immigrated to New York in 1850 and settled in San Francisco in 1859. Trained as a wood engraver, he studied locally and in Europe. Primarily a landscapist, he kept pace with contemporary styles, his landscape painting evolved from the strictly topographical to the deeply personal and poetic. For a discussion of Keith, see Alfred C. Harrison, Jr.,*William Keith, The Saint Mary's College Collection*, edited by Ann Harlow (Moraga, Calif.: Saint Mary's College, 1988).
42. Steven A. Nash et al., *Facing Eden: 100 Years of Landscape Art in the Bay Area* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press for The Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, 1995), pp. 33-34.
43. Ibid.
44. Ibid, p. 35.
45. William Keith, "Lecture on Art," delivered mid-1890s to Sorosis Club, quoted in Nash et al., "*Facing Eden*," p. 33.
46. Gottardo Piazzoni, "Three Pioneer Artists," *The Argus*, September 1928, quoted in Hailey, p. 81.
47. James McNeill Whistler's (1834-1903) aestheticism, *Japonisme*, and evocative, poetic paintings with musical titles were tremendously influential in California. His "nocturnes," in particular, directly inspired California artists such as Charles Rollo Peters (1862-1928) and Will Sparks (1862-1937), who based their careers on painting night scenes. Whistler's ideas were also promulgated by Arthur Mathews (1860-1945), who incorporated them into his own work in conjunction with elements of the Pre-Raphaelites, Art Nouveau, and classicism to develop what has come to be known as the California Decorative Style. Because of Mathews's position as Director of the California School of Design (1890-1906), he was in a key position to influence a generation of California artists.
48 Harvey L. Jones, *Mathews: Masterpieces of the California Decorative Style* (Santa Barbara and Salt Lake City: Peregrine Smith, Inc., 1980), p. 33.
49. French painter and muralist Pierre Puvis de Chavannes (1824-1898), now typically considered a Symbolist, painted subjects and narratives that were classical in tradition and at the same time distinctly modern in their psychological withdrawal. This, combined with Puvis's use of large, flat areas of subdued color, as well as his respect for the integrity of the picture plane, was inspirational to many artists, particularly Piazzoni.
50. Letter from Piazzoni to Stackpole, 28 February 1923, Arthur Putnam Papers.
51. Mireille Piazzoni Wood, interview.
52. Accounts of Mathews by many of his students described him as sarcastic, dictatorial, and often favoritist, thus leading to the schism. Publicly, Mathews pledged his support for the fledgling organization, stating: "The younger artists who are inclined to look askance at our methods have a right to their separate organization. I am in favor of any advance in the standard of art, and we will help and not hinder the new association." Quoted in Nash et al., "*Facing Eden*,"p. 57.
53. Hans Ulrich Jost, Brandon Brame Fortune, and William Hauptman, *From Liotard to Le Corbusier: 200 Years of Swiss Painting, 1730-1930*, ed. Swiss Institute for Art Research (Zurich: Coordinating Commission for the Presence of Switzerland Abroad, 1988), p. 18.
54. Maurizio Fagiolo dell'Arco, *Balla: The Futurist*, trans. Margaret Kunzle (New York: Rizzoli International Publications, Inc., 1988), p. 62.
55. Mireille Piazzoni Wood, interview.
56. Anna Pratt Simpson, "The Del Monte Gallery," *The Argonaut*, Vol. LX, No. 1572 (27 April 1907), p. 633.
57. Philip R. Wood, author interview with Mireille Piazzoni Wood and Philip R. Wood, San Francisco, California, 19 October 1996.
58. Josephine Mildred Blanch, "The 'Barbizon' of California: Some Interesting Studios of Old Monterey," *Overland Monthly* 50 (July 1907), p. 63.
59. Thomas E. Benediktsson, *George Sterling* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, A Division of G. D. Hall & Co., 1980), p. 79.
60. Ibid., p. 105.
61. Ada Hanifin, "Review of Bohemian Club Exhibition," *The Wasp*, 29 March 1924, quoted in Hailey, p. 68.
62. George Sterling, "Moonlight in the Pines," in *The House of Orchids and Other Poems* (San Francisco: A. M. Robertson, 1911), pp. 108-109.
63. George Sterling, "Sonnets on the Sea: Voice," in *The House of Orchids and Other Poems*, p. 40.
64. George Sterling, "On a Western Beach," in *Beyond the Breakers and Other Poems* (San Francisco: A. M. Robertson, 1914), p. 96.
65. George Sterling, "Aldebaran at Dusk, one of Three Sonnets of the Night Skies," in *The House of Orchids and Other Poems*, p 22.
66. George Sterling, "Dawn from a Western Mountain," (1914) in *Beyond the Breakers and Other Poems*, p. 122.
67. Letter from Piazzoni to Stackpole, 1 September 1912, Arthur Putnam Papers.
68. Henry David Thoreau, *Walden*, in *Great Short Works of Henry David Thoreau*, ed. Wendell Glick (New York: HarperPerennial A Division of HarperCollins Publishers, Inc., 1993), p. 237.
69. Emerson, *Nature*, and Thoreau, *Walking*, intro. by John Elder, p. 59.
70. Ralph Waldo Emerson, *Collected Poems and Translations*, comps. Harold Bloom and Paul Kane (Penguin Books USA Inc., 1994), p. 390.
71. Emerson, *Nature*, and Thoreau, *Walking*, intro. by John Elder, p. 53.
72. Letter from Piazzoni to Stackpole, 1 September 1912, Arthur Putnam Papers.
73. G. B. Tennyson, "Introduction" in *A Carlyle Reader: Selections from the Writings of Thomas Carlyle*, p. xxxiv.
74. Philip R. Wood, interview.
75. Carlyle, *Sartor Resartus*, p. 161. Carlyle's emphasis.
76. Ibid., p. 254.
77. Letter from Piazzoni to Stackpole, 5 June 1911, Arthur Putnam Papers.
78. Carlyle, *Sartor Resartus*, p. 275.
79. Ibid., p. 145.
80. Ibid., p. 231.
81. The passage in Latin reads: "Lux aeterna luceat eis, Domine: Cum sanctis tuis in aeternum, quia pius es. Requiem aeternam dona eis Domine, et lux perpetua luceat eis. . . ." Translated in William Mathias, *Lux Aeterna* (Oxford University Press, 1984), p. iii.
82. Laura Bride Powers, "Art and Artists About the Bay," *Oakland Tribune*, 13 February 1916, p. 32.
83. Philip R. Wood, interview.
84. Ellen Halteman Schwartz, comp., *Northern*

California Art Exhibition Catalogues (1878-1915) A Descriptive Checklist and Index (La Jolla, California: Laurence McGilvery, 1990), p. 97.
. Blanch, p. 464.
. Dante Alighieri, *The Divine Comedy: Inferno, in The Portable Dante*, ed. Mark Musa (Penguin Books USA Inc., 1995), p. 4.
. Ibid., p. 14.
. It should be remembered that in 1912 Piazzoni was about to begin rereading Dante, as indicated by his telling Stackpole, "Dante I have not opened but I assure you that I often though[t] of him."
. Dante Alighieri, *The Divine Comedy: Paradise*, pp. 571-572.
. Ibid., p. 581.
. Jovanne DiMassa Reilly, *Painters of the California Landscape: Cadenasso, Cuneo, Piazzoni* (San Francisco: Museo Italo Americano, 1990), not paginated.
.. Dante Alighieri, *The Divine Comedy; Paradise*, pp. 395.
. Taber, *The Wasp*, 5 January 1918.

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Robert Bellah et al., *Habits of the Heart: Individualism and Commitment in American Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985).
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Ibid., 317.
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Henry James, ed., *The Letters of William James* 2 vols. (London: Longmans, Green, 1920), 1:249.
For biographies of Royce, see especially John Clendenning, *The Life and Thought of Josiah Royce* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985; rev. ed., Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1999); Robert V. Hine, *Josiah Royce: From Grass Valley to Harvard* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1992).
10. Royce to Henry L. Oak, September 17, 1885, *The Letters of Josiah Royce*, ed. John Clendenning (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), 178.
11. Sarah Royce, *A Frontier Lady: Recollections of the Gold Rush and Early California*, Ralph Henry Gabriel, ed., (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1932).
12. Josiah Royce, *The Hope of the Great Community* (New York: Macmillan, 1916), 5.
13. Ibid.
14. Limerick, *Legacy of Conquest*, 95.
15. Malcolm Rohrbough, *Days of Gold: The California Gold Rush and the American Nation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 298.
16. Clendenning, *Life and Thought*, 32-38; Robert Glass Cleland, "Introduction," Royce, *California* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1948), xiii.
17. Clendenning, *Life and Thought*, 330-31.
18. Royce to Jones, September 23, 1884, Jones Papers, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, hereafter cited as BL.
19. Royce to Henry L. Oak, December 9, 1884, *Letters*, 141-45.
20. Andrew Rolle, *John Charles Frémont: Character As Destiny* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991), 260.
21. Royce to Scudder, April 14, 1885, Scudder Papers, BL; Royce to Oak, April 14, 1885, Oak Papers, BL.
22. Royce to Jessie Frémont, April 14, 1885, copy in Oak Papers, BL.
23. Royce to Oak, August 8, 1885, Oak Papers, BL.
24. Ibid.
25. Royce to Jessie Frémont, August 20, 1885, copy in Oak Papers, BL.
26. Rolle, *Frémont*, 260.
27. Josiah Royce, *Fugitive Essays* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1920), 7.
28. Royce, *California* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1886), vii.
29. Ibid., 2.
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31. Ibid., 49.
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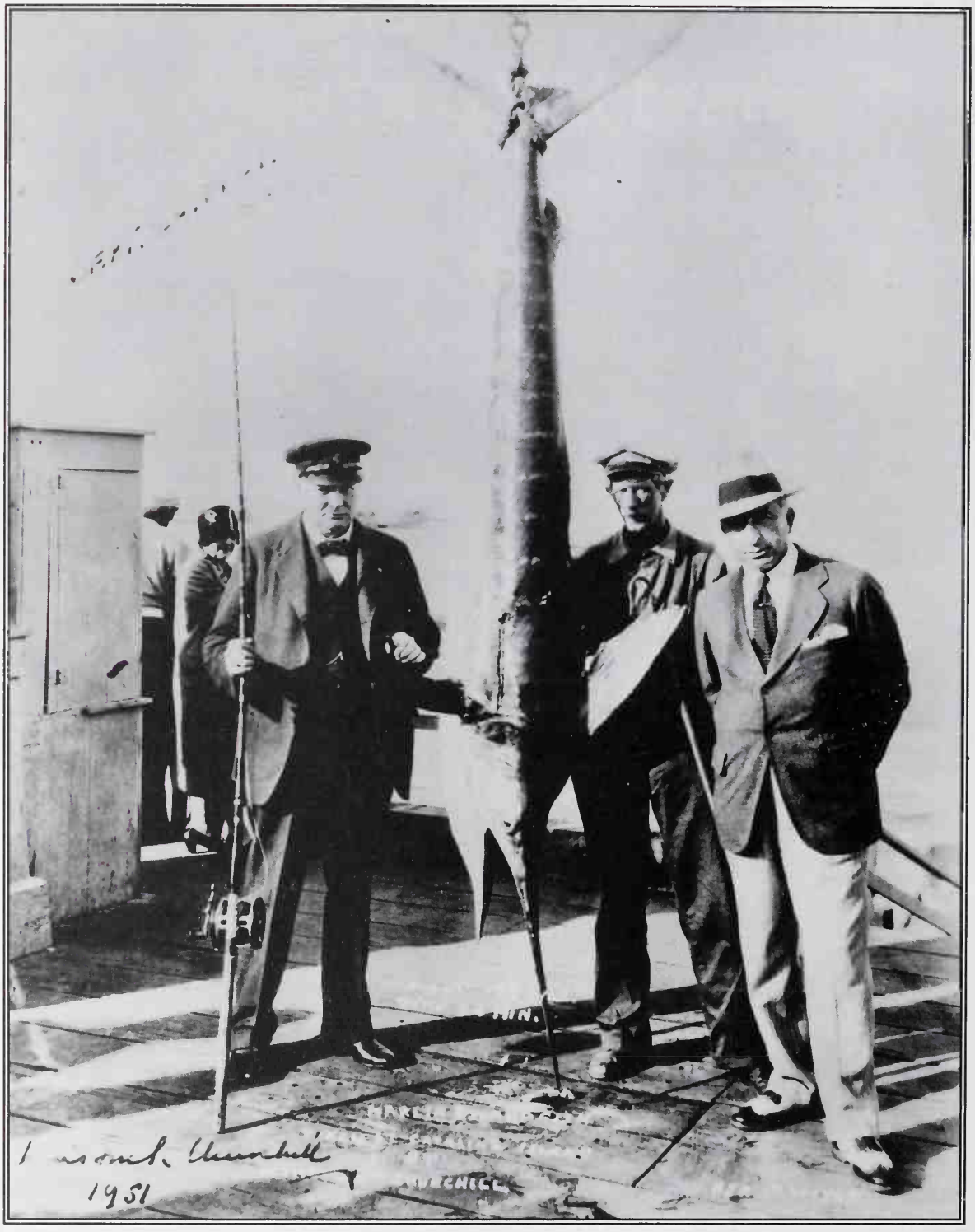
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ON THE COVER: Charles Dormon Robinson (1847-1933), *Seal Rock* (detail), oil on canvas, 24 by 50 in. *Natural History Museum of Los Angeles County, History Collections. Photograph by Dick Meier.* BACK COVER, upper: *The Wonderful Calistoga Hot Sulphur Springs, Napa Co., Calif.*, lithograph. *California Historical Society, FN-32661.* Lower: A. L. Bancroft & Co., *Bird's Eye View of Healdsburg, Cal.* 1876, lithograph. *California Historical Society, FN-30616.*



Churchill, on the far left, is accompanied by Capt. Monte Foster, second from right, and Ben R. Meyer, on the far right, on a gorgeous southern California day. The fishing excursion off the coast of Santa Catalina Island was a success: Churchill bagged a 188-pound marlin, second from left, in only twenty minutes. At the time, Meyer was president of Union Bank, a civic activist, and a trustee of the University of Southern California and the California Institute of Technology. *This item is reproduced by permission of The Huntington Library, San Marino, California.*

Winston S. Churchill in California

by David T. Leary

British statesman Winston S. Churchill (1874-1965), the World War II leader who inspired his land's "finest hour," spent about three weeks in California during September 1929. Although he had visited North America before, and would do so again, this was his one and only experience of the Great West.

Along with Winston were his younger brother, Jack, and their respective sons, Randolph and Johnny. Winston's wife, Clementine, and Jack's wife, Gwendeline, were originally to have accompanied their husbands, but Clementine suffered a bout of throat trouble and gave up the thought, which presumably caused Gwendeline to do the same. Thus, Randolph and Johnny completed the foursome.

Winston and Clementine had four children who reached adult years. Randolph was the second of these and the only son. Jack and Gwendeline had three offspring, two boys and a girl. Johnny was the eldest.

The California visit was actually part of a much larger venture. The Churchills docked at Québec early in August and crossed Canada mostly by rail. In the first week of September they entered the U. S. at Seattle, destined for northern and then southern California. After brief excursions to Yosemite Valley and the Grand Canyon, they traveled directly east. Reaching New York by early October, the group separated: Randolph and Johnny, both Oxford students, returned to academe; Winston and Jack, not similarly committed, toured Civil War battlefields and otherwise did not leave New York until October's end.[1]

Churchill had several purposes, vacationing very much among them. "I am traveling primarily for rest and pleasure," he told a future host, "to see these wonderful countries, of which I have heard so much, and to meet the men who are guiding them."[2] But Churchill this early was not just a prominent politician (most recently chancellor of the exchequer), he was a very successful writer,[3] and his North American experiences would become topics in a series of weekly articles for the London *Daily Telegraph*. Twelve in number, they started appearing late in 1929; two were devoted to California.[4] Also, as he progressed, he could cultivate future prospects: indeed, when he left the U.S., Churchill had contracted for twenty-two new articles.[5] Finally, however consciously he intended it, the trip would offer opportunities to voice his ideas. Never mind that he claimed to have "no political mission and no axe to grind,"[6] he gave substantive speeches and interviews all along the way.

So although Churchill was in California less than a month, and even if his activities during the time did not alter history, the interviews and speeches he gave, the letters and newspaper articles he wrote do merit attention. They highlight his liking for California, which, because of his readership and sheer prominence, most surely resounded abroad. They highlight his quest for Anglo-American cooperation, which saw attainment in World War II and later. And they highlight his phenomenal intuition, which went a long way toward making him one of the century's great figures.[7]

From the time he left Britain until he set foot in the U. S., Churchill was in the hands of the Canadian Pacific Railway.[8] CPR President Edward W. Beatty had had a role in shaping the Prince of Wales's 1919 visit; likewise in 1939 for the visit of King George and Queen Elizabeth. It was good business for the railway,[9] and in Churchill's case all the more so, because his *Daily Telegraph* articles would, if nothing else, publicize Canada.

Reaching Seattle on September 6, boarding a late-evening train,[10] the four Churchills were momentarily on their own. But the next afternoon, at Grants Pass, Oregon, Gerald Campbell, British consul-general at San Francisco, was ready with an automobile. South they all drove, stopping the first night at Crescent City, California, the second at Willits, staying in local hotels. Because the single car proved crowded, on September 8 a vice-consul met them at Eureka with another.[11]

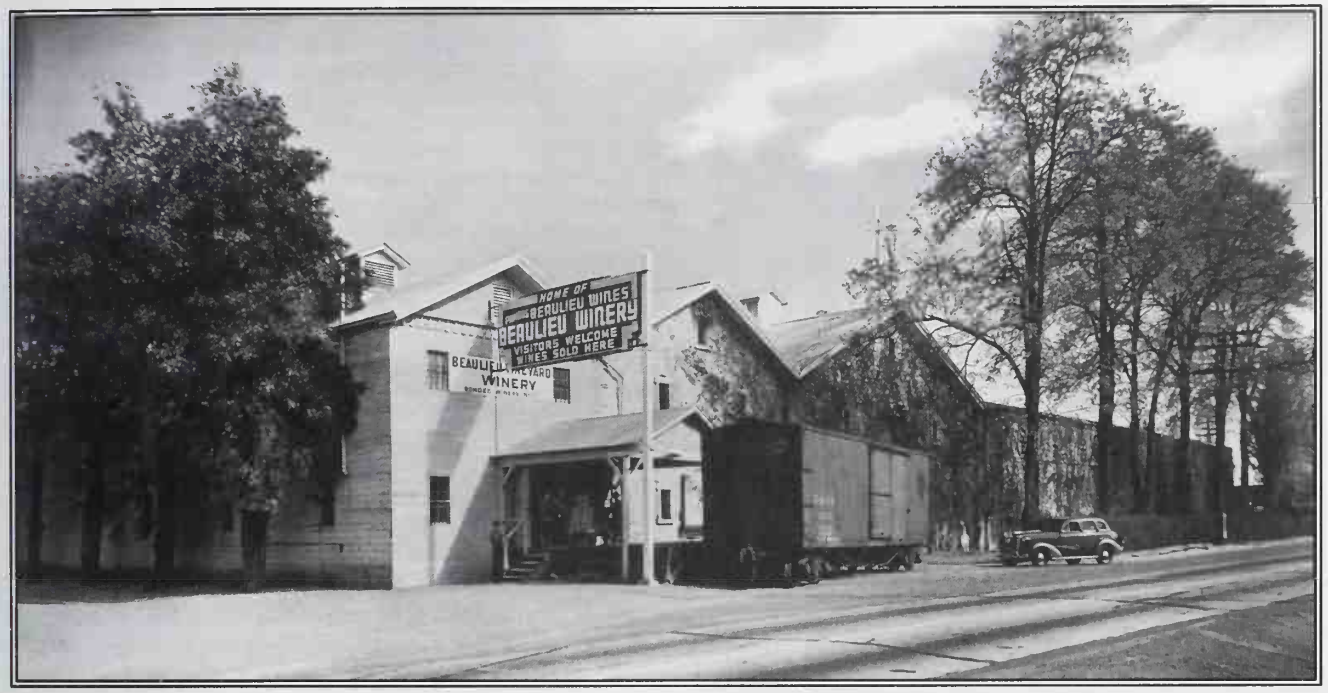
Churchill's fascination with California began on



From this view of Willits as downtown appeared six years before the Churchill party descended upon it in 1929, the surrounding hills can be seen, where Douglas fir, madrone, pine, and oak forests predominate. In Mendocino County north of Ukiah, Willits sits at the western edge of Little Lake Valley at 1,300 feet above sea level, and calls itself "Gateway to the Redwoods." Named for Indiana immigrant Hiram Willits, and originally settled by pioneering ranchers in the 1850s, logging and the eastern terminus of the Skunk Train serve as foundation to a proud past in Willits today. *California Historical Society, Randolph Brandt Collection; FN-32655.*



The giant Coastal Redwoods (*Sequoia sempe virens*) that line the Redwood Highway me merized Churchill's party. The group follow the road south from Crescent City to Willi stopping at least once to explore the aw some setting on the forest floor amongst t enormous trees. This image features t Founders Grove at Dyerille Flats, in Humbol Redwoods State Park where the South Fo joins the main course of the Eel River. Th spectacular grove was named to honor t founders of the Save-the-Redwoods-Leagu responsible for establishing a series of re wood parks along U.S. Highway 101. *Courte of the California State Automobile Associati Archives.*



Winston Churchill's concerns that measures included in the Volstead Act and put into force by the Eighteenth Amendment would interfere with the enjoyment of his party's California vacation were set at ease on several memorable occasions. One of these was the lunch shared with Georges de Latour and complimented by his product at BV, his winery, the Beaulieu Vineyard in Rutherford. Originally from Bordeaux, Latour founded the vineyard in 1900 in the Napa Valley, where it still thrives and welcomes all visitors over the legal drinking age to partake. During Prohibition, from 1919 to its repeal with the Twenty-first Amendment in 1933, Beaulieu Vineyard, like other California vineyards, produced sacramental wine for liturgical use. *Courtesy Beaulieu Vineyard.*

his first full day in the state, driving through groves of the world's tallest trees, the giant sequoias from which the Redwood Highway takes its name. "The road is an aisle in a cathedral of trees," he rhapsodized. One, reportedly topping four hundred feet, had a base so huge that getting round it took fifteen people with hands linked. There were fewer in the Churchill party, but some British seamen, also sightseeing, helped make up the human chain.[12] In the *Telegraph*, Churchill identified this redwood as "The Big Tree," and indeed a lofty sequoia, so-named, stands south of Crescent City in Prairie Creek Redwoods State Park.[13] Farther along, however, south of Eureka at Bull Creek Flat, the group stopped for lunch, made quite a visit to the big trees, and helped circle one of them.[14] "The Giant Tree" is there, in Humboldt Redwoods State Park.[15] It is probably the redwood Churchill identified. Regardless, neither of the two in question presently tops 360 feet.[16]

Leaving Willits on September 9, the group turned into the Napa Valley and paused at the Beaulieu Vineyard, whose French-born owner, Georges de Latour, in this time of Prohibition, was making sacramental wine. The group lunched with the vintner that day. Sharing some of his wine over a meal, probably violating the Volstead Act, did not seem to bother Latour. Surely it did not bother Churchill, who had scant use for Prohibition.[17]

Yet the Churchills, in fact, had been concerned about Prohibition when they left Canada. Randolph had stashed their whiskey and brandy in his own luggage, assuring that he would be the one to draw fire if a search caused trouble. However, not only did the group pass border inspection without incident, but one of the inspectors was present later when a Seattle hotel keeper served beer by way of momentary hospitality.[18] Filial efforts apparently continued, inasmuch as Churchill wrote his wife, more than ten days afterward that "Randolph acts as an unfailing Ganymede. Up to the present I have never been without what was necessary."[19] Yet Randolph found that liquor was provided publicly both in San Francisco and Los Angeles,[20] so his filial ministration might not have been too necessary.

By late that afternoon or early evening, the Churchills reached the mansion of banker William H. Crocker, just south of San Francisco, at Hillsborough.[21] Here they spent three nights.[22] A son of one



William H. Crocker (1861–1937) was the son of Charles Crocker, a failed gold miner who achieved grand success as one of the "Big Four" builders and owners of the Central Pacific Railroad. Carrying on his father's position of prominence, William H. was founder and president of Crocker National Bank, acquired by Wells Fargo in 1986. Active in the Republican Party and a regent of the University of California for twenty-eight years, William H. Crocker was a philanthropist and civic leader. Chairman of the Pan-Pacific Exposition Committee, member of the building committee for the San Francisco Opera House and Veterans Building, he also donated the Nob Hill property on which Grace Cathedral was built. Later, he was a principal donor to Lick Observatory and he financed construction of the cyclotron at Lawrence Radiation Laboratory, long used as a tool for nuclear physics, and now used in analyzing air pollution and in treating patients with impaired vision. Churchill arrived at William Crocker's mansion in Hillsborough on September 9, 1929, and enjoyed the banker's hospitality throughout his visit to the bay area. *California Historical Society, FN-32653.*

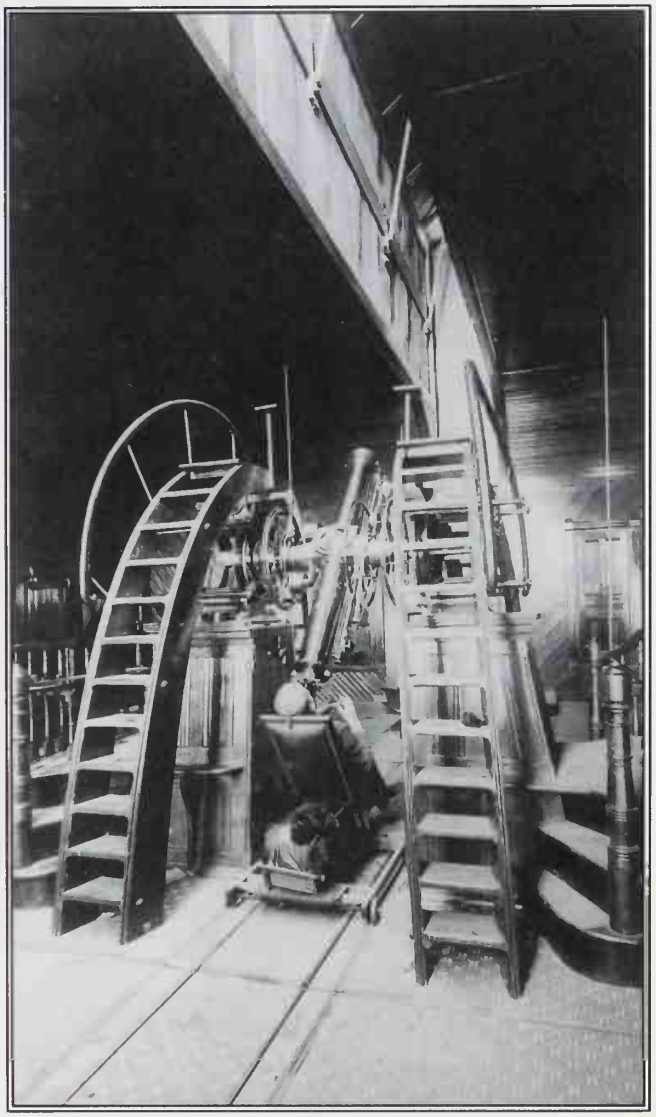
of the famed "big four" of California railroading, Crocker had made himself a person of consequence, not just in banking, but also in public service. He had a multitude of notable friends, many of whom enjoyed his hospitality.[23]

Churchill's sojourn in the Bay Area was a busy one. There was a view of Seal Rocks, a nighttime visit to the Lick Observatory, and a momentous long-distance call to Chartwell, his home in Britain. There were public engagements, too—notably at the Bohemian Club. Seal Rocks, on the Pacific, south of the Golden Gate, was a tourist attraction then as now. Churchill had heard about it and particularly wanted to go there. The visit, probably on September 10, proved disappointing, however, because there were no seals—just marine birds.[24] Still, Churchill's interest suggests the intriguing possibility that he first heard of the spot from his parents, who had been in San Francisco and Monterey many years earlier, during August of 1894.[25] Even so, one must note that Churchill's mother, the former Jennie Jerome, eventually described watching seals at Monterey, not at San Francisco.[26]

On the second full day of his San Francisco visit, Churchill departed from purely recreational pleasures to speak to the press about international concerns. Recent bloodshed between Jews and Arabs in Palestine, over which Britain held a League of Nations mandate, had drawn much attention. Having been colonial secretary from 1921 to 1922, with significant responsibility for implementing the mandate, Churchill could comment and did. Meeting with reporters after a lunch at the Bohemian Club on September 11, he stated, "The Arab and the Jew must and will learn to live together in Palestine."[27] About the same time, he wrote an article on the subject, which he got into the hands of editors at the *Zionist Record* of New York and the *Sunday Times* of London.[28] His view of the hostilities in Palestine was compatible with his longstanding Zionist sympathies.[29] One might also be optimistic and maintain that, despite periodically failed cease-fire agreements, it will eventually prove a significant example of his remarkable intuition.

Erected in 1888 on Mt. Hamilton in the Diablo Mountains, the Lick Observatory, with its 36-inch refracting telescope, was an institution of world consequence. It was named for James Lick, the San Francisco benefactor who funded it. It truly impressed Churchill the night of September 11. After their long, serpentine ride through the hills, to the delight of the Churchill party University of California President William W. Campbell—whose academic specialty was astronomy—focused the observatory's equipment on Saturn, the moon, and other heavenly bodies. Churchill was captivated. "I could go on for a long time about all we saw and heard," he wrote his wife. And he made his enthusiasm apparent in the *Daily Telegraph*: "Celestial jewellery!" he exclaimed.[30]

The next day, a transatlantic telephone call to his wife and children at Chartwell was accomplished from atop the Pacific Telephone Co. headquarters in San Francisco. It involved several links, but the connection was a good one, which Churchill celebrated in the *Daily Telegraph*. "Why say the age of miracles is past?" he queried. "It is just beginning."[31] The call had special importance, inasmuch as Churchill placed it on the couple's twenty-first wedding



The astronomical sites viewed from Lick Observatory, situated in Santa Clara County on 4,000-foot Mt. Hamilton, enchanted the Churchill party on the night of September 11, 1929. During a long terminal illness, real estate mogul James Lick (1796–1876) prodded by his friend astronomer and geographer George Davidson, decided to dedicate his wealth to building the world's greatest telescope. Lick had made his fortune in real estate, acquiring and selling assets in San Francisco, a great rancho once part of the present day Griffith Park in Los Angeles, and Santa Catalina Island, another celebrated destination on Churchill's California itinerary. After an elaborate funeral, Lick was buried in Masonic Cemetery in San Francisco, but his remains were re-interred at Lick Observatory shortly before its completion and dedication in 1888. The renowned telescope featured in this image, ca. 1890, is part of the research and graduate teaching facility operated by the University of California. *California Historical Society, FN-32654.*

anniversary, a fact hardly lost on a buoyant Mrs. Churchill. "I hope we will have many happy returns of today," she responded.[32]

Much of the San Francisco skyline Churchill saw that autumn was relatively recent construction which replaced landmarks reduced to rubble in the earthquake of 1906. Intrigued by the greatest force of the destruction, in the *Daily Telegraph* Churchill emphasized it was not the quake, but the resulting fires, that had devastated San Francisco nearly a quarter-century earlier. Rebuilt, he said, the city had a vertical quality by contrast to Los Angeles. He erred, however, when he referred to the city's "forty-storey buildings." In 1929, and for years, the Russ Building, rising thirty-one floors, was San Francisco's tallest.[33]

The group moved south on September 12 for a night at Pebble Beach, U. S. Minister to the Netherlands Richard M. Tobin having offered the use of a sister's residence there. Traveling ahead to open the place was Mrs. William C. Van Antwerp, wife of a prominent Bay Area stockbroker with whom Churchill had just placed funds for investment.[34]

On September 13 the Churchills continued south to the palatial San Simeon estate of fabled publisher William Randolph Hearst, where they stayed four nights and Hearst's wife, Millicent, presided as hostess.[35] Churchill's work had been appearing in Hearst's *Cosmopolitan* since 1924, and the two men had met previously, in 1928. Hearst, never mind, always charted his own course (Johnny Churchill referred to "Hearst's campaign against England").[36] However, for the moment, host and guest got along well, perhaps inspiring the statesman to confide to William Crocker, "He [Hearst] seems very much set upon the idea of closer and more intimate relations between the English speaking peoples—a cause, which, as you know, is very near my heart."[37]

While he was at Pebble Beach, Churchill had relaxed and made time for painting,[38] his celebrated pastime. He did so at San Simeon, as well.[39] Otherwise, despite the availability of tennis, swimming, riding, even a zoo,[40] his specific activities have gone largely unnoted. And regrettably neither the Pebble Beach nor the San Simeon artworks seem to have survived. No question, however, the young Churchills had a lively time—Randolph almost too much so. Pursuing an attractive female guest right into Winston's quarters, by mistake, was one thing; paying special attention to a Hearst daughter-in-law, as recounted by both Winston and Johnny, was quite another.[41]

Still, Hearst and Churchill shared the first of several cars in a drive south on September 17. And on September 30, Consul-General Campbell wrote lauding the good will generated by the visit.[42] Churchill



California's legendary Pebble Beach is an ultra-elegant residential and resort community anchoring Monterey Bay's famed 17-Mile Drive. Thirty years before Churchill spent a night at a private residence at Pebble Beach, the grand old Del Monte Hotel opened its doors, and was home to the first golf course west of the Mississippi River. Today, the annual Bing Crosby tournament is played on the Pebble Beach Golf Links, and the rich and famous luxuriate at The Lodge at Pebble Beach and other fine hostelries. Churchill did his own thing there: he relaxed and engaged in his favorite pastime. He painted out of doors, unwittingly becoming one of the California plein air artists. *California Historical Society, FN-32616.*



New York stage dancer Millicent Veronica Willson married William Randolph Hearst when she was twenty-one and he was forty years old. She gave birth to five sons: George, William Randolph Jr., John, and twins Randolph and David. W.R.'s amorous relationship with actress Marion Davies led to the Hearst couple's agreement to a separation without divorce. Millicent settled in New York while W.R. managed his publishing empire and spent most of his time in California, between San Simeon and Los Angeles. Like her mother-in-law, Phoebe Apperson Hearst, Millicent devoted time and money to children's causes; in 1926 she founded the Free Milk Fund for Babies. Occasionally Millicent was called to California to serve as official hostess, as she did during Churchill's visit to San Simeon in 1929. Of Millicent, Churchill wrote to his wife Clementine: "She has not got an easy role to play: but with 5 sons and a separate establishment some sort of arrangement is necessary and not impossible." *California Historical Society, Janet Peck Collection, FN-24939.*



)e gned in the Spanish-Italian le ssance style by the high-end Ne York architecture firm Schultze z V aver, the Los Angeles Biltmore Ho opened to national acclaim us six years before Churchill's rr l there. Through the years, the Bil ore has retained its glamorous ur and has served as headquarters or any glittering and momentous ve s, from the founding of the Ac emy of Motion Picture Arts n Sciences in 1927 to the 1960 De ocratic National Convention ha nominated JFK for the presi- le y. The hotel was designated a Hi orical Cultural Landmark in 9 . and underwent extensive es ration in the 1990s. Known o as the Millennium Biltmore, he otel on downtown's Pershing q re is still one of the city's pre- ni hotels and special function e es. *Seaver Center for Western H ry Research, Los Angeles County M um of Natural History.*

had lost no ground for the moment; whether he changed Hearst's views essentially is another matter, as will be seen.

On September 18 both Hearst and Churchill addressed a large luncheon gathering at the Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer film studio, in the Los Angeles suburb of Culver City. Churchill told the audience, dotted with Hollywood figures and pretty much representing the whole film industry, "You are an educational institution which spreads its influence all over the world, from one end of the globe to the other." Hollywood as a political entity was perhaps not yet so significantly influential, but Churchill, superbly intuitive, presently took both radio and "talkies" into account and predicted their added impact. In his remarks he also pursued his cherished geopolitical goal, arguing that "the peace and safety of the world" lay in British-American association. And he made his liking for California abundantly clear. "I have only one regret," he declared, "only one pang which racks my bosom, and that is that I have never been here before."[43]

Churchill spent nine nights in southern California, yet tracking him remains a challenge. Right after the MGM speech, he seems to have doubled back to Montecito, immediately south of Santa Barbara, for two nights at the residence of former U. S. Secretary of the Treasury William G. McAdoo.[44] And for several nights, probably the last five of his Southland tour, he was a guest at the Biltmore Hotel in downtown Los Angeles.[45] But what about the other two, the first and fourth? A good guess is that the group was at the Santa Monica home of Hearst's mistress, actress Marion Davies, where Hollywood was at their disposition. Randolph, Winston, and Johnny all make the above itinerary, however discontinuous, appear correct.[46]

Once at the Biltmore, the party was in the hands of Henry M. Robinson and James R. Page,[47] both successful financiers. Robinson was the older of the two, with some standing in national and international affairs, but Page had immediate responsibility for the visitors.[48] There was a fishing excursion to Catalina Island on September 22, during which Churchill landed a 188-pound marlin.[49] Yet the Anglo-American theme was now very much in the forefront of his conversations.

On September 23, at the California Club, Churchill appealed to a number of business and professional leaders for increased Anglo-American understand-



Winston Churchill and his party were treated to much more than a quick meet-and-greet handshake with Hollywood royalty while they were in Los Angeles. They visited with Londoner Charlie Chaplin and viewed Chaplin's World War I comedy about a naïve recruit, *Shoulder Arms* (1918), and then accompanied the actor to a film premier, enthralled by the likeable entertainer. Following a music hall career begun in England, Chaplin had come to the United States with the Fred Karno touring troupe in 1910, and made his film deput in *Making a Living* just four years later, beginning a motion picture career that spanned five decades. Films such as *The Gold Rush* (1925) and *City Lights* (1931) made him a creative and much admired industry leader as well as an international star. After the House Un-American Activities Committee labeled him a communist through innuendo and revoked his re-entry visa to the U.S. while he was in England for the premiere of *Limelight* (1952), Chaplin moved to Switzerland and did not return to the U.S. for twenty years, when he was honored with an Academy Award for career achievement. He never gave up British citizenship and was knighted in 1975. *Seaver Center for Western History Research, Los Angeles County Museum of Natural History.*



Born in Philadelphia to actor and dramatist Maurice Barrymore and actress Georgiana Drew-Barrymore, Ethel Barrymore (1879–1959) forged a distinguished career in the tradition of a great stage and film-acting family. After a successful introduction to the theater scene in New York in 1894 and in London three years later, Barrymore made her film debut in 1914. Although she always preferred the stage, she continued to make noteworthy appearances in both media for over forty years, winning an Academy Award for Supporting Actress in 1944 for *None But the Lonely Heart.* Not unlike her grandniece Drew Barrymore (b. 1975), Ethel Barrymore was a precocious beauty in her youth. Churchill met Barrymore at the turn of the century, fancied her, and proposed to her; she refused him. Ethel introduced Churchill to her younger brother John, also an actor, and the two men became close friends. *California Historical Society, FN-32651.*

ing and good will. "The co-operation of the two great English-speaking powers," he said, "means peace for the world." He also stressed the same topic at several gatherings that he sponsored personally. Here, though, most of the guests were probably already Anglophiles: he was likely preaching to the choir.[50]

There was more of Hollywood, however. On September 24 the group visited Charlie Chaplin's studio, saw *Shoulder Arms* and some of *City Lights.* Then it was on to a glittering film premiere, still in the company of London-born Chaplin, who became a Churchill favorite. "You [could] not help liking him," Churchill wrote his wife. "The boys were fascinated by him."[51]

The Churchills' fascination got a boost several years later, when Chaplin visited Chartwell. He turned up dressed as himself, of course, not as the Little Tramp, his famous character. But before he left, he asked for a walking stick, stepped into a closet, and presently emerged as the tramp—much to everyone's delight.[52]

Actually, Churchill harbored screen-writing aspirations, although they never came to much. In 1929, however, he wanted Chaplin to play Napoleon in a film that he, Churchill, would script.[53] Probably on September 25 he visited actor John Barrymore, who, unlike Chaplin, was scarcely a new acquaintance. Churchill had met Barrymore's older sister, actress Ethel Barrymore, perhaps during 1902, perhaps four years earlier.[54] Just in her early twenties, if that, she was beguiling not only Churchill, but all of London's theater-going West End, and rumor soon enough had the couple engaged.[55] Winston did in fact propose to her, but well before he and Clementine really came to know each other. Ethel refused him, maybe wary about the combination of theater and political life.[56] Even so, they maintained an enduring friendship.[57]

Ethel may have introduced her brother John to Winston as early as 1898. Clearly the two men were close by 1925: in that year, Churchill's encouragement kept Barrymore from leaving a London production of Hamlet. Hence it was natural that in Los Angeles Churchill would drive to the Warner Bros. studio, join Barrymore on the set of *The Man from Blankley's*, and later dine with him.[58]

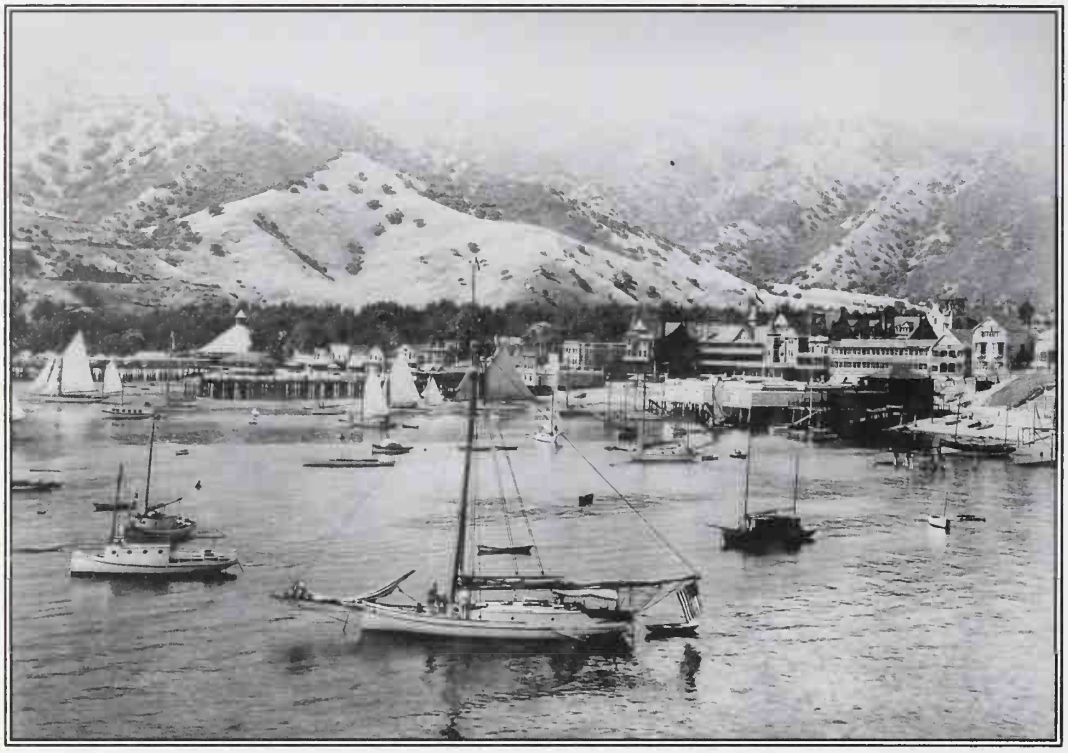
In his *Daily Telegraph* remarks, Churchill was rightly observant of Los Angeles's dispersed, horizontal quality—and its related car culture. "The distances are enormous," he said. "You motor ten miles to luncheon in one direction and ten miles to dinner in another." It was shrewd commentary, and three-quarters of a century later urban Californians' sense of what constitutes a "reasonable" driving distance for such activities has grown ever more expansive, which specialists have certainly verified.[59]

Yet Churchill erred, not necessarily by emphasizing oil and especially movies, as he did in the *Daily Telegraph*, but rather by suggesting they were the city's most significant economic bases.[60] In 1930, in fact, barely 1 percent of Los Angeles's gainfully occupied people were laborers in petroleum refineries or actors or showmen.[61] However, in fairness it should be noted that Los Angeles's booming oil industry and its burgeoning motion picture business drew many a newcomer's attention.[62] Churchill was wrong, too, when he said poverty did not exist.[63] The 1930 census recorded 44,480 unemployed people in Los Angeles.[64] Although the start of the Great Depression might have accounted for some of this, as early as fiscal year 1924-25, the city made a special study of the problem of homeless men.[65] He may not have encountered the city's pockets of true poverty; if he did he very likely would have been thinking about the kind of poverty he had seen in Europe.[66]

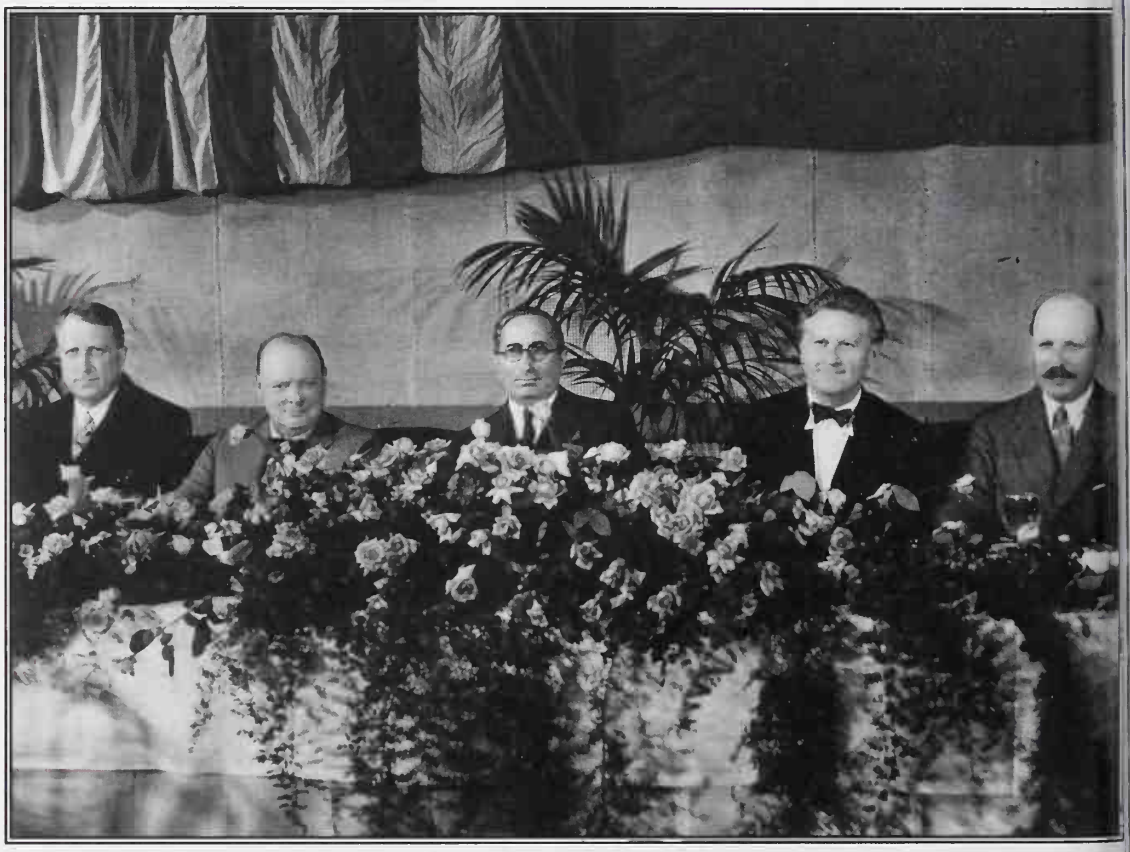
Churchill had certainly met civic and political leaders and tried to sway opinion toward Anglo-American partnership. So the question might be, with what result? When it came to William Randolph Hearst, Churchill's efforts to rally the newspaper scion were not ultimately fruitful. In 1927 Hearst himself had proposed that English-speaking nations join to maintain peace.[67] And at the MGM lunch, just before Churchill's remarks, Hearst had sounded much the same note.[68] Still he—and his publications—actually held back until December 1941, until the Japanese raid on Pearl Harbor, even as Hitler's aggressions became increasingly blatant.[69]

Although Churchill doubtless welcomed Hearst's eventual support, perhaps more a consequence of his vision of partnership was southern California's participation in the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies (CDAAA). Though a decade passed before its formation was announced by Kansas editor William Allen White in May 1940[70]—just as Churchill became Britain's World War II prime minister—several of its key activists had met with Churchill in Los Angeles or thereabouts. Actor Douglas Fairbanks, Jr., who had been at the 1929 MGM luncheon with Hearst and Churchill, served as a vice-chairman of the committee's southern California chapter. Caltech physicist and Nobel laureate Robert A. Millikan, among those on the Catalina Island fishing trip, became its honorary chairman. Rufus B. von Kleinsmid, USC's president and a guest at the California Club lunch, was on the advisory committee.[71] Fairbanks, Millikan, and von Kleinsmid were also CDAAA national committee members.[72] While no immediate evidence links Churchill's 1929 visit to the CDAAA's eventual birth, the possibility is thought provoking.

One other point: Max Farrand, director of the Huntington Library, was a guest both on the fishing trip and at the California Club lunch.[73] Churchill relied on letters from the library's Brydges Collection in his biography of the first Duke of Marlborough, which he was indeed beginning in 1929.[74] Thus a quick leap might have it that Churchill actually visited the library and worked there; the truth seems to be different. Farrand perhaps mentioned the collection, but it was not ready for use in 1929.[75] As it happened, in 1932 Churchill would employ a local researcher to investigate the collection.[76] Like numerous busy authors, he did in fact enlist research assis-



Winston Churchill—himself native a magnificent island separated only a narrow channel from a continental m land—made a brief fishing excursio Catalina during his California vaca For 300 years after its naming by J Rodriguez Cabrillo in 1542, S Catalina was host to intermittent o pation by adventurers and miners u the whole island was granted into pri ownership in 1846. A succession of o ers, including James Lick of observa fame, and followed by George Sh who built Avalon and began the tou industry in the 1880s, devolved William Wrigley, Jr., in 1919. A dec later, when Churchill visited, Wrigl changes included bringing the Chic Cubs to the island for spring train building the Casino, and establishing Catalina Pottery Works. Wrigley-direc stewardship passed to the Santa Cata Island Conservancy, which now ov and operates most of the island. *Cali nia Historical Society, FN-32656.*



At a luncheon on the MGM studio lot, Churchill displayed his enthusiasm and support for Hollywood. He believed that the industry would exert overwhelming international influence by the end of the century —and of course he was right. Only five years before, Louis B. Mayer (1885–1957) had merged firms to create MGM, the most powerful and successful of all the studios. Movie pioneers like Mayer, born in poverty in Minsk, created spectacular success. During the Depression and war years, the motion picture business enjoyed prosperity unattained in other business sectors. From left to right, publishing mogul William Randolph Hearst, Winston Churchill, studio titan L.B. Mayer, silent costume drama director Fred Niblo, and John Churchill. *Courtesy of the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences. Photo courtesy the Wesselmann Collection.*

ants throughout much of his literary life. Nevertheless, he did the writing.[77]

The Churchill excursion to the Southland concluded, the party left Los Angeles late on September 26, bound north for Yosemite Valley.[78] The evening departure suggests they traveled aboard steel magnate Charles Schwab's private railway car, which Schwab had offered in early August.[79] The Churchills visited Yosemite the next day.[80] Winston picnicked at Inspiration Point and then spent the afternoon atop Glacier Point. The Van Antwerps were among the touring group once more. "Incomparable with anything else in the United States, Canada or England," was how Churchill found Yosemite, said Van Antwerp.[81]

The next day Churchill was in Bakersfield, now for sure in Schwab's car.[82] Writing his wife from Barstow on September 29, he was still in California but headed east.[83] And on the 29th or 30th of September, he reached the Grand Canyon.[84] In a youthful prank, Johnny and Randolph stood on their heads near the canyon's rim. Not sensing the actual, safe distance between their sons and the rim, the senior Churchills were alarmed and taken aback.[85]

The Grand Canyon should have demonstrated again how much Churchill appreciated nature's beauty. In Canada, on the way west, he had visited Banff Springs and Lake Louise. At the latter he made time for painting—two or three of the images survive at Chartwell.[86] Indeed, he called Lake Louise "a spot which in all of my travels I have never seen surpassed."[87] Something is nonetheless puzzling: it is that Churchill described neither Yosemite nor the Grand Canyon in his writing, and if he did any painting at either place, the images have gone unremarked. Further research, perhaps, may uncover other writings, correspondence, or paintings which expand the record of Churchill's time in the West.

Continuing on their U.S. tour, the Churchills reached Chicago on October 2, where investor and government figure Bernard M. Baruch was waiting to meet them. There was at least one public event before they all moved along to New York, now in Baruch's railway car, and now very much in his hands.[88] Baruch and Churchill had become good friends at the time of World War I and remained so,[89] which made for networking. Baruch had prompted Crocker's San Francisco invitation,[90] he suggested Van Antwerp to Churchill,[91] and he alerted McAdoo, although McAdoo was at Hearst's estate along with Churchill and reportedly issued his invitation then.[92] Baruch also contacted Henry M. Robinson who, having planned travel to the nation's capital, drew in James R. Page.[93] And while Schwab had met Churchill twice in 1914, during negotiations that secured for his Bethlehem Steel Co. a contract to build submarines for the British, it was Baruch who first told Schwab that Churchill planned to visit the U.S.[94]

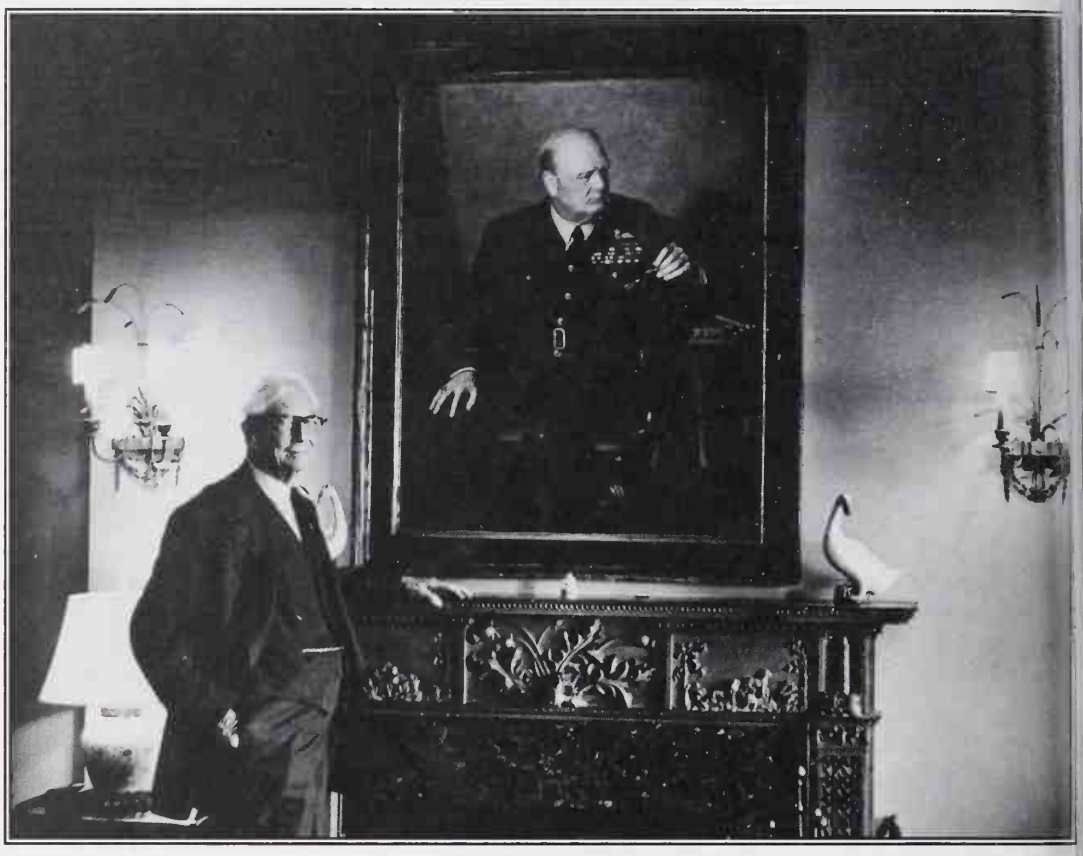
There was other networking, too. Publisher Max Aitken (Lord Beaverbrook) in 1912 had urged Churchill to visit Canada; it was Aitken who energized Hearst's 1929 invitation.[95] And even though Tobin had been minister to the Netherlands as late as 1929 and may already have met Churchill, a letter to Tobin from Churchill's cousin Frederick E. Guest probably facilitated the stay at Pebble Beach.[96]

Churchill's *Daily Telegraph* articles about California were distinctly positive. Indeed, he set the tone in the first article's first paragraph, where he reported being given to understand that Californians could easily drive the state's length at will. And, he continued, "They would certainly be well advised to try the experiment, for a more beautiful region I have hardly ever seen."[97] Shortly, however, he moved into some disquieting language. "Take it for all in all," he wrote having crossed the Great Basin and formed a regional impression,"the western slopes of the Rocky Mountains offer a spacious, delectable land, where the white man may work or play on every day in the year." And with just a sentence intervening, he went on, "The people who have established themselves and are dominant in these thriving scenes represent what is perhaps the finest Anglo-Saxon stock to be found in the American Union."[98]

Although Churchill referred briefly to the slopes of the Rockies, he was, after all, really discussing California. And California was on the way to demographic diversity: among its 5.7 million residents, according to the 1930 census, were 637,000 people of color.[99] While Churchill must have encountered some of them, he focused on the activities and accomplishments of white Anglo-Saxons. One might simply acknowledge strains of racism in Churchill's era and life,[100] stipulate his imagined U. S. society was not diverse,[101] and move along. Several points merit further examination, however.

Churchill certainly sprang from a time when Anglo-Saxonism animated opinion-leaders on both sides of the Atlantic.[102] Despite this phenomenon, Anglo-Saxonism did not necessarily connote genetic supremacism.[103] Also, whatever its 1929 connotation for Churchill personally, a decade later he withstood the century's most notorious racist, Adolf Hitler. And finally, in 1929 geopolitical cooperation absorbed him above most other matters.

Although Churchill's quest for geopolitical cooperation was obvious in his remarks in California, it also turned up in New York,[104] and again in the very first of his *Daily Telegraph* articles.[105] The matter was one to which he devoted much of his life, as he said



One of Churchill's closest friends was the immensely influential financier and government advisor Bernard Mannes Baruch (1870–1965). Baruch played a key role in arranging Churchill's California trip; he also hosted Churchill in Chicago in early October 1929. Born in South Carolina and educated in New York City, Baruch began his career as an office boy but rose to fabulous fortune as a Wall Street investor and to the highest level of power as consultant to presidents from Woodrow Wilson to John F. Kennedy, as well as to Churchill and other political leaders. After World War II, President Harry S. Truman appointed Baruch as U.S. representative to the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission. Here, Baruch stands in front of Douglas Chandor's 1946 portrait of Churchill wearing the Royal Air Force uniform with eighteen ribbon bars, representing orders, decorations, and medals awarded by the time he sat for the artist. Nineteen more such awards were to come his way before his death, in addition to many other honorary degrees, citizenships, and memberships. Formerly in Baruch's private collection, the painting is now at the National Portrait Gallery in Washington. *Courtesy Princeton University Library.*

in 1963.[106] But was there a special subtlety about his 1929 remarks? What was this "world peace" to which he returned repeatedly? Here, particularly, Churchill's political and intellectual complexity—his critics might have called it his inconsistency—emerges sharply. He was, for example, a sometime admirer of Benito Mussolini.[107] Moreover, as chancellor of the exchequer, he slashed each of his military budgets, with only the Royal Air Force escaping.[108] Nevertheless, he opposed Bolshevism very soon.[109] And by 1924, if not previously, he was downright worried about Germany's anger at the Versailles Treaty.[110] His specific wariness of Hitler's growing power—as early as 1929—might warrant more argument.[111] Yet even if, in *The Second World War*, he exaggerated his first opposition to the dictators,[112] his essential, early intuition was superb: Anglo-American unity could meet global challenge, as indeed it would, in his era, and most recently, in ours.

In sum, here was a British visitor who, when not all did, genuinely liked California. Here was one who, because of his position, his vision, and his writing, gave California fresh international standing. And here was one who, not the least by his formidable intuition, brought the world to California. CHS

See notes beginning on page 238.

David T. Leary is a California native, born in Los Angeles. He did his undergraduate work at Stanford University and received his doctorate from the University of Southern California. He taught history at Pasadena City College for a number of years and is now a professor emeritus. He continues to travel widely, especially to places of historical interest.

WINSTON S. CHURCHILL MILESTONES

YEARS	MILESTONES	U.S. PRESIDENTS	CALIFORNIA GOVERNORS
1874	Born at Blenheim Palace, eldest son of Lord Randolph Churchill and Jennie Jerome	Ulysses S. Grant 1869-1877	Newton Booth 1871-1875
1893	Graduates from Harrow School	Grover Cleveland 1893-1897	Henry H. Markham 1891-1895
1894-95	Graduates from Sandhurst Royal Military College; commissioned a cavalry officer		
1895	Publishes first newspaper article		James H. Budd 1895-1899
1899	Leaves regular army	William McKinley 1897-1901	Henry T. Gage 1899-1903
1901	Becomes a Member of Parliament		
1908	Marries Clementine Hozier; five children are born to them through 1922	Theodore Roosevelt 1901-1909	James N. Gillett 1907-1911
1911	Named First Lord of the Admiralty	William Howard Taft 1909-1913	Hiram W. Johnson 1911-1917
1917	Named Minister of Munitions	Woodrow Wilson 1913-1921	William D. Stephens 1917-1923
1921	Named Secretary of State for the Colonies	Warren G. Harding 1921-1923	
1922	Buys Chartwell Manor, Kent		
1923-29	Publishes *The World Crisis*, a four-volume history of World War I		Friend Wm. Richardson 1923-1927
1924	Named Chancellor of the Exchequer	Calvin Coolidge 1923-1929	
1929	Begins his "years in the wilderness"	Herbert Hoover 1929-1933	C.C. Young 1927-1931
1931-32	Lecture tour in the United States		James Rolph, Jr. 1931-1934
1933-38	Publishes *Marlborough*, the four-volume biography of his great ancestor	Franklin D. Roosevelt 1933-1945	
1939	Named First Lord of the Admiralty		Culbert L. Olson 1939-1943
1940	Named Prime Minister and Minister of Defense		
1946	Makes "Iron Curtain" speech, Fulton, Mo.	Harry S. Truman 1945-1953	Earl Warren 1943-1953
1948-54	Publishes his six-volume memoir, *The Second World War*		
1951	Named Prime Minister		
1953	Made a knight; awarded Nobel Prize for Literature	Dwight D. Eisenhower 1953-1961	Goodwin J. Knight 1953-1959
1956-58	Publishes *History of the English-Speaking Peoples*, four volumes		
1963	Made honorary U.S. citizen	John F. Kennedy 1961-1963	Edmund G. Brown, Sr. 1959-1967
1964	Leaves Parliament, having served as an M.P. 1901-1922 and 1924-1964	Lyndon B. Johnson 1963-1969	
1965	Dies in London		

YOUR TOWN
Behold the View

by Jennifer Liss

From the southern ridge of the Marin headlands staring across the glowing red arches of the Golden Gate to the rolling, caterpillar avenues of San Francisco's Richmond district, or from a window seat in a 747 gliding into LAX over the miles and miles of buzzing grid and Pacific coastline that is Los Angeles, we experience the same sort of thrill that nineteenth-century Californians felt about their cities and towns depicted in the popular format of the day, bird's eye views.

The sensation is quite remarkable, then and now: it is an awe inspired from viewing your city or town presumably as a bird does, seeing the entire organism of the metropolis steady underneath you; being able to point with pride to blurry shapes that are your church, your neighborhood grocery, the poppy-filled meadow where you walk your dog. From this height you develop a more complete understanding of the craft and plan behind the streets, harbors, and parks. This unbelievable network of paved and dirt roads, thick, sparkling highways, and slender, sky-high buildings creates the place that you call home in California.

Consider the voice of Jack Kerouac as he describes the sites from a vantage point above San Francisco:

> . . . we began rolling in the foothills before Oakland and suddenly reached a height and saw stretched out ahead of us the fabulous white city of San Francisco on her eleven mystic hills with the blue Pacific and its advancing wall of potato-patch fog beyond, and smoke and goldenness in the late afternoon of time.[1]

Herb Caen saw it as " . . . the eye-bulging sight, from atop the Fifteenth Avenue hill, of the little white new houses marching through the Sunset District toward the Pacific like stucco lemmings that decided, just in time, not to hurl themselves into the sea."[2]

In the latter half of the nineteenth century the "eye-bulging" sight of young cities and towns depicted in the bird's eye views—also referred to as city views or aerial views—kindled urban pride in a rapidly growing state. Among other key events, gold-rush mania and California's admission into the union lured adventurers and entrepreneurs west. In the following decades, bird's eye views provided new Californians with a visual representation of often astonishingly rapid growth and development around them.

Historian John W. Reps, the doyen of American town planning imagery, estimates that in the U.S. between 1825 and 1900, at least two thousand urban views were commissioned by land speculators, local businesses, civic organizations, and private citizens. Their purposes were to promote and publicize new communities, to orient immigrants and newcomers, and to enhance budding commercial industries. For many publishers, a crucial source of income came from the sale of images that appeared on the borders of the lithograph: vignettes or smaller scenes that advertised principal buildings, mansions, churches, or shops.[3]

The dramatic rise in size and number of California towns and cities coincided with development of quick and inexpensive lithography techniques. This new lithography made it possible to reproduce affordable color images so that bird's eye views usually sold for one to five dollars. In professional offices, banks, hotel lobbies, retail shops, parlors,

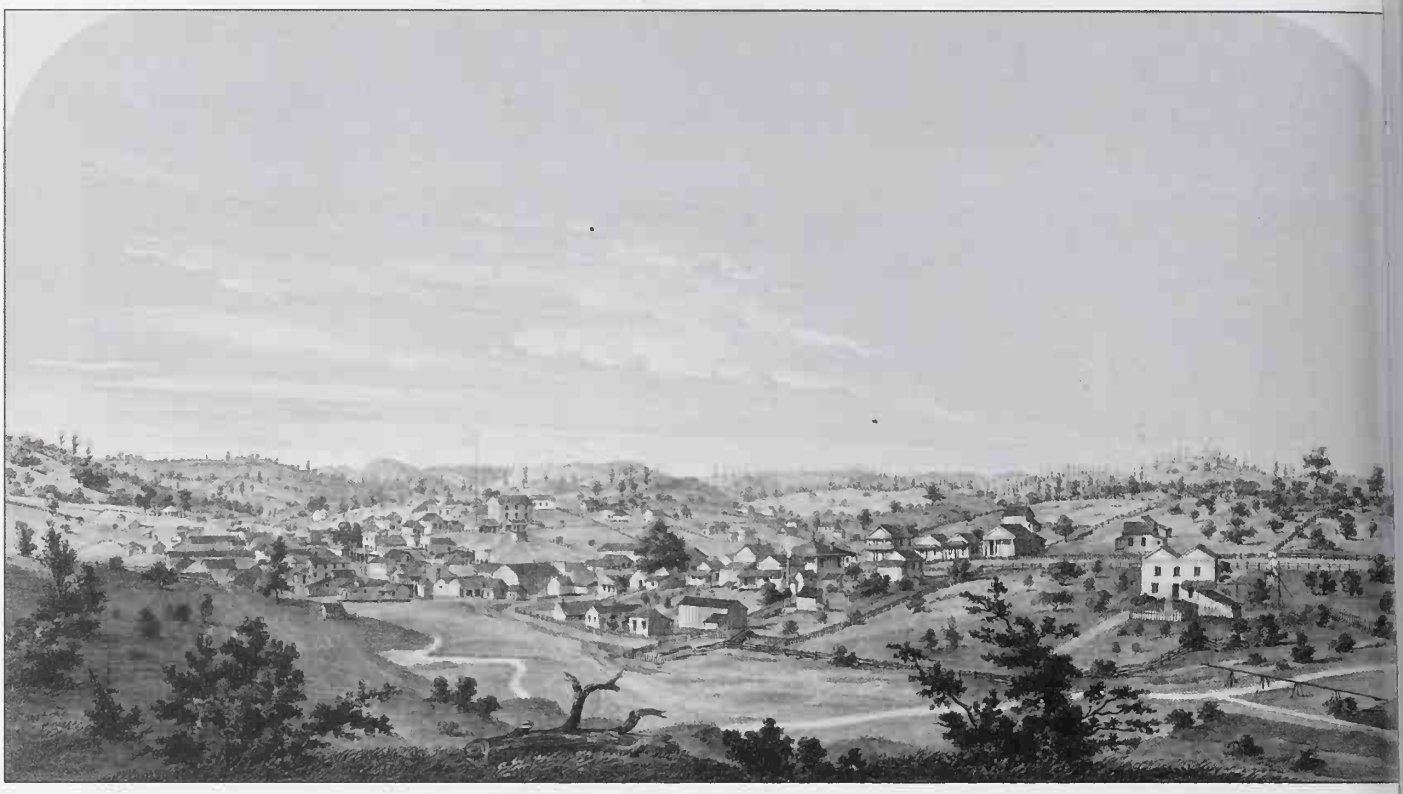
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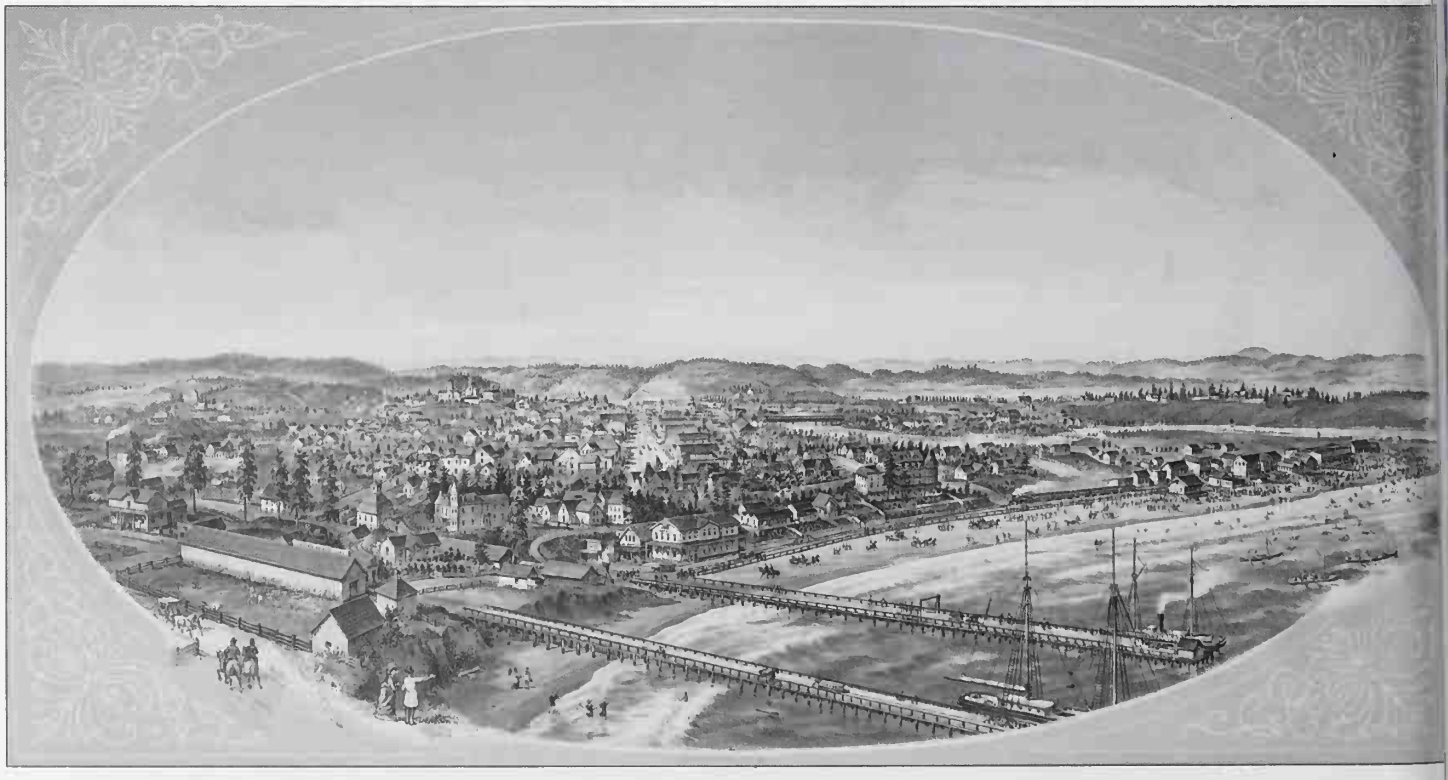
The Wonderful Calistoga Hot Sulphur Springs, Napa Co., Calif., lithograph. *California Historical Society, FN-32661.*



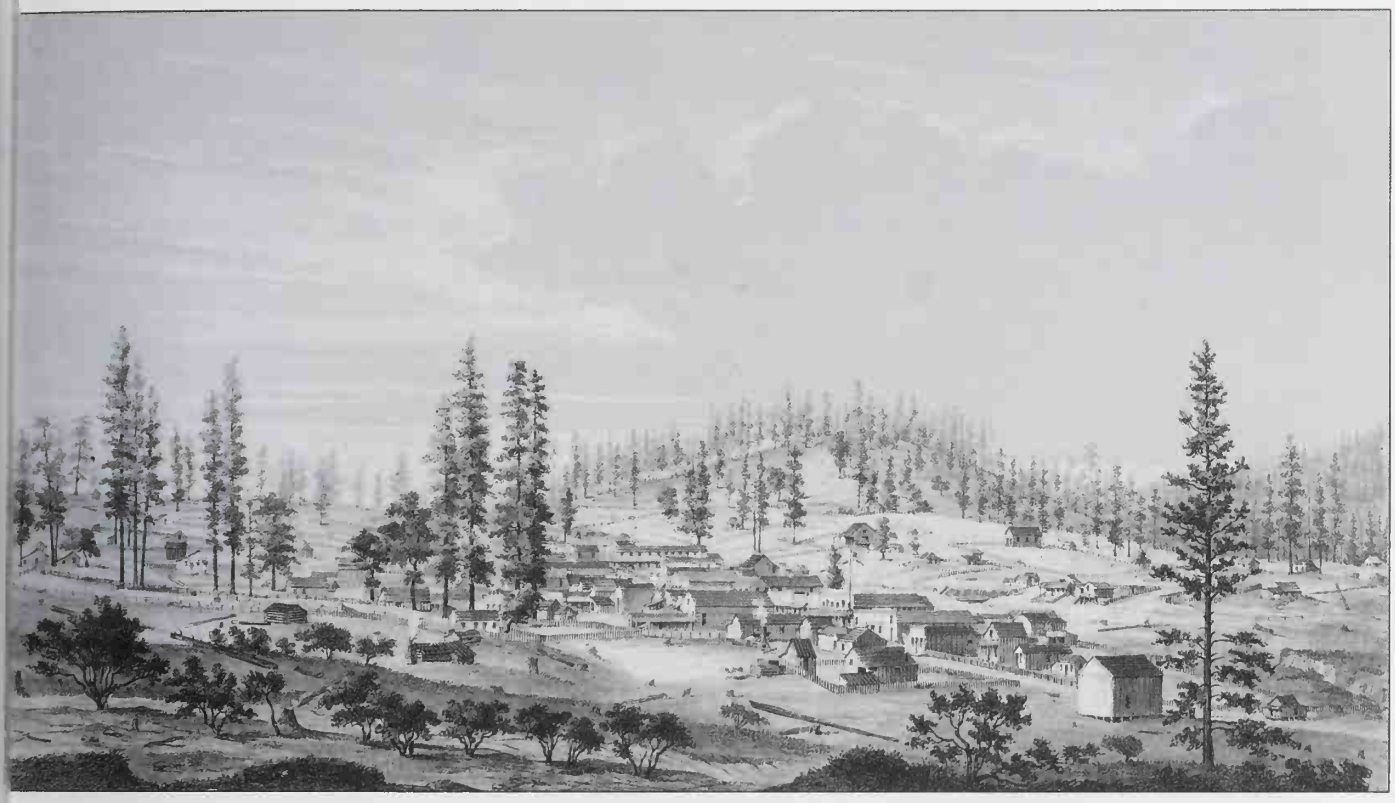
Santa Clara, Cal., 1869, lithograph. *California Historical Society, FN-32530.*



Kuchel & Dresel, *Jackson, Amador County, Cal., 1857*, lithograph. *California Historical Society, FN-32668.*



Britton & Rey, *Santa Cruz, Cal.*, lithograph. *California Historical Society, Clift Collection, X57-88-1-2.*



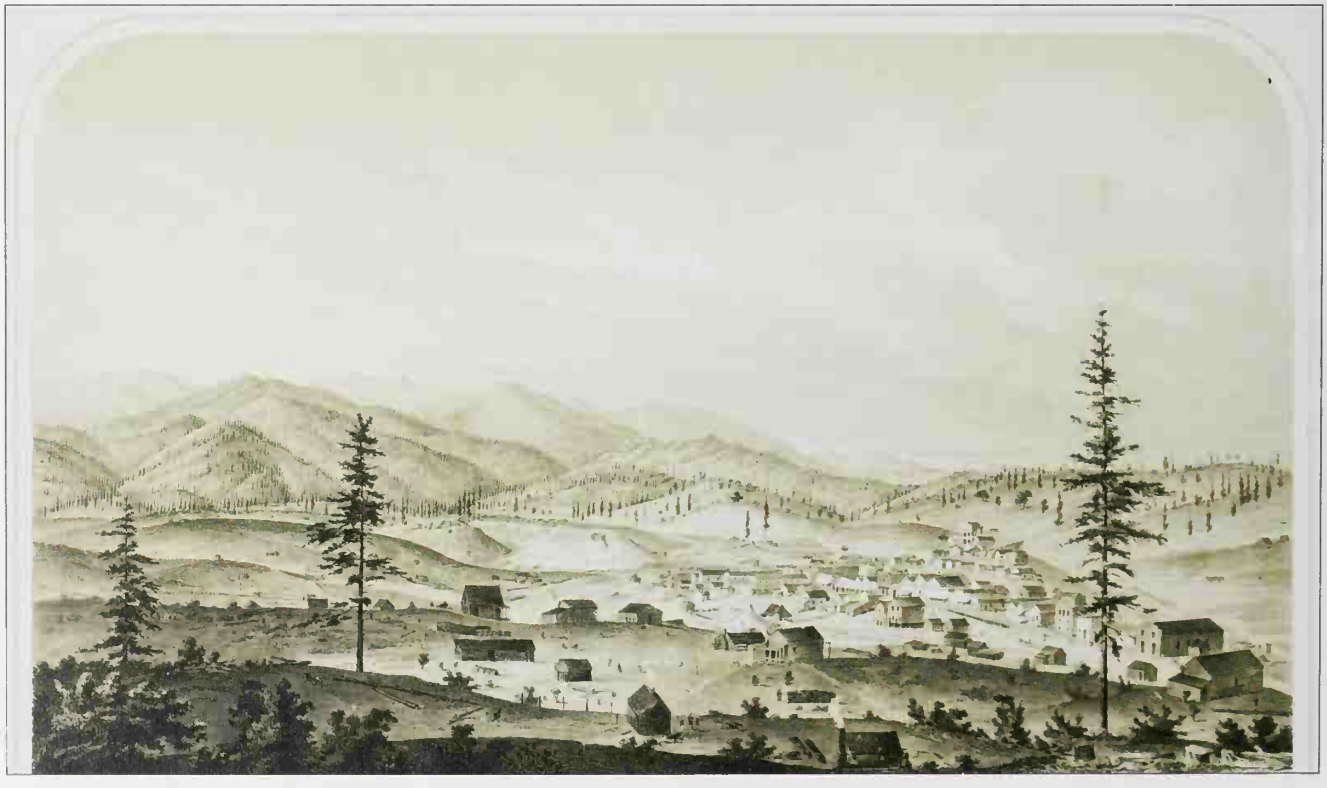
Kuchel & Dresel, *Yankee Jim's, Placer County, California, 1857*, lithograph. *California Historical Society, FN-32666.*



Kuchel & Dresel, *Union [Arcata], on Humboldt Bay, Humboldt, Cal., 1856*, lithograph. *California Historical Society, FN-32667.*



Bancroft A. L. & Co., *Bird's Eye View of Healdsburg, Cal.*, 1876, lithograph. *California Historical Society, FN-30616.*



Kuchel & Dresel, *Weaverville, 1856, Trinity County, California*, lithograph. *California Historical Society, FN-32663.*



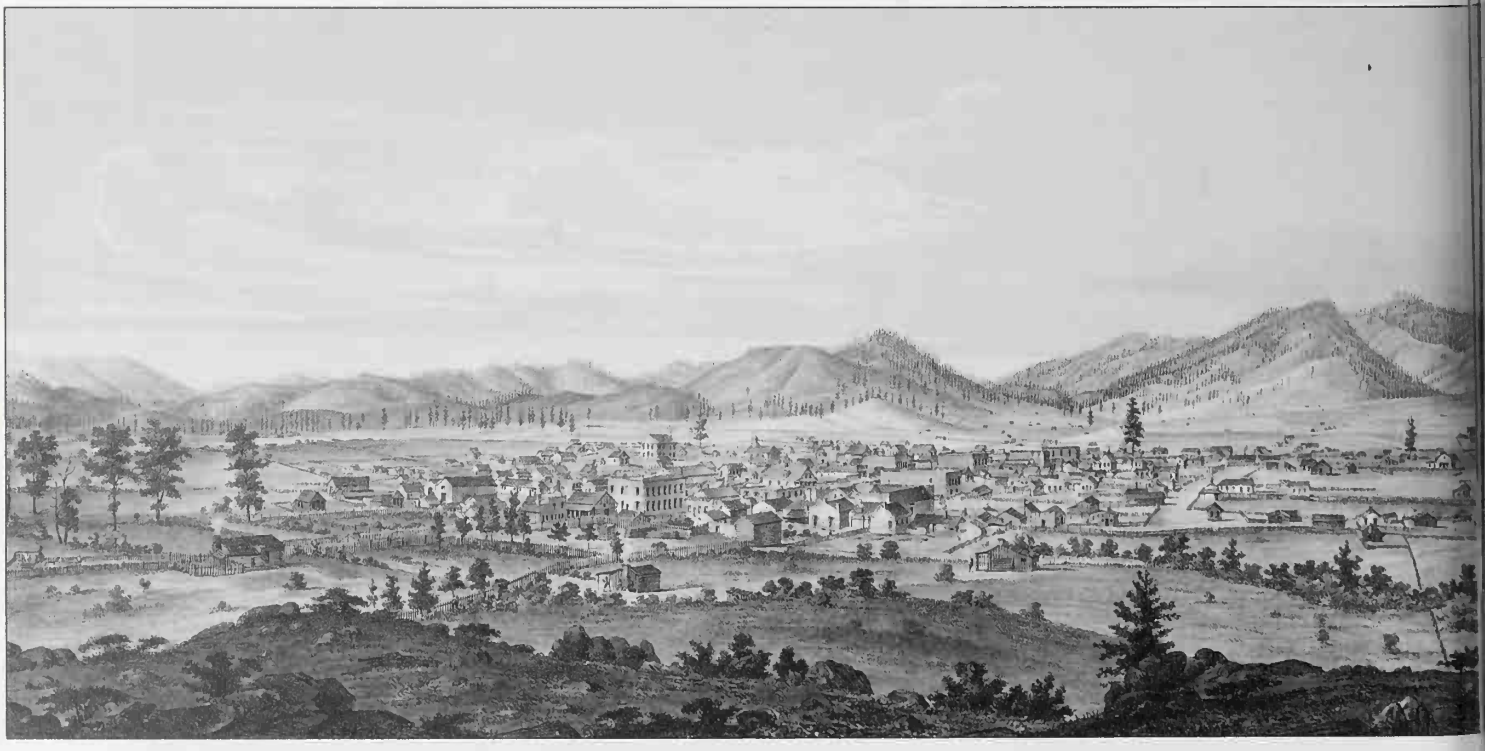
Korbel, F. & Bros., *C. Groezinger's Wine Cellar & Vineyard, Yountville, Napa, California*, lithograph. *California Historical Society, 66-68.*



Hesse, J., *Sacramento in California—Des Auswanderes Hoffnung*, lithograph. *California Historical Society, FN-32657.*



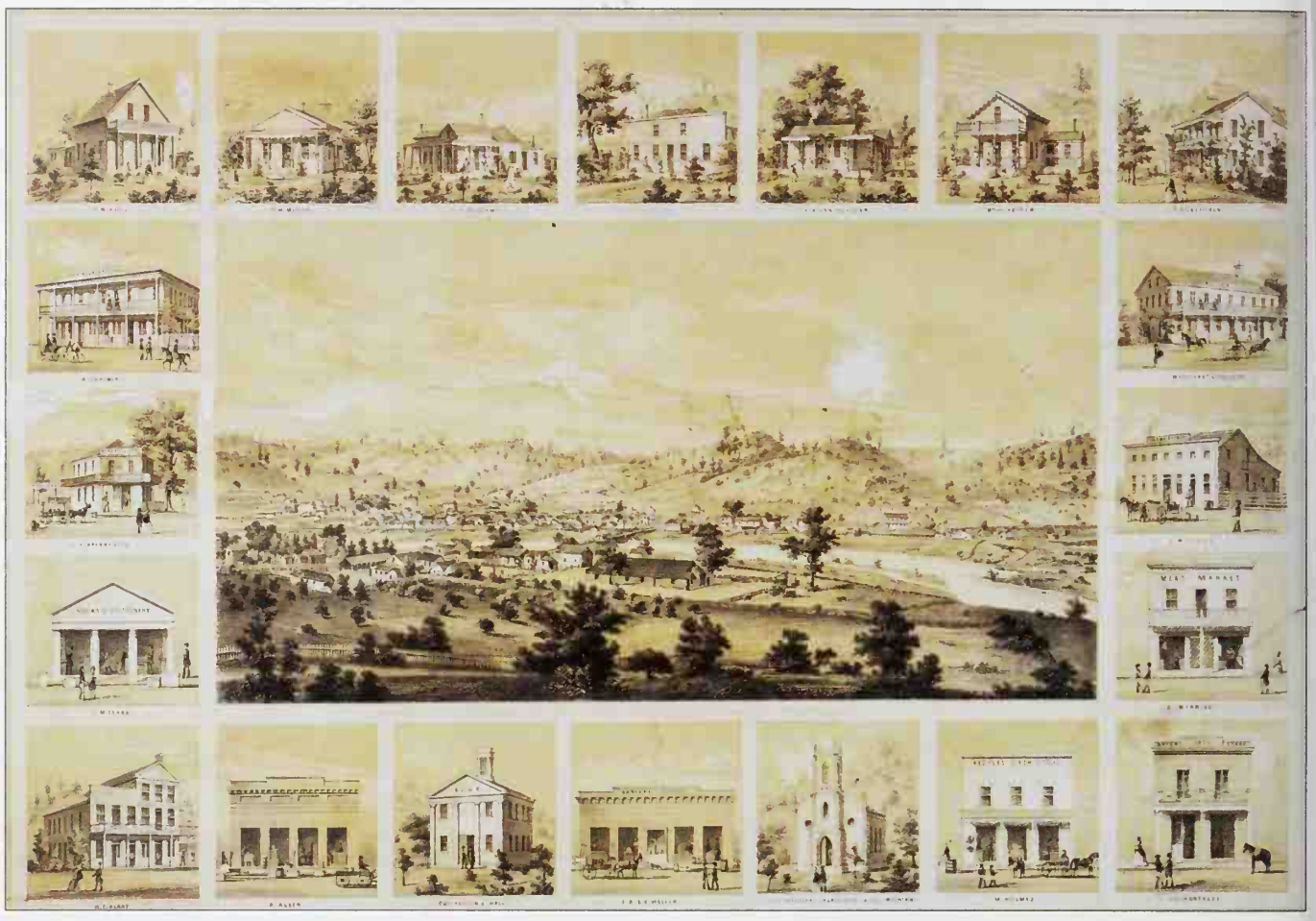
Kuchel & Dresel, *Angel's, Calaveras County, Cal., 1857,* lithograph. *California Historical Society, FN-32660.*



Kuchel & Dresel, *Yreka, Siskiyou County, California,* lithograph. *California Historical Society, FN-32664.*



Kuchel & Dresel, *French Bar, Siskiyou County, Cal., 1857*, lithograph. *California Historical Society, FN-32669.*



Kuchel & Dresel, *Coloma, 1857, El Dorado County, California,* lithograph. *California Historical Society, FN-32659.*



Henry, Bill, *San Francisco, 1854,* lithograph. *California Historical Society, FN-32665.*

ublic institutions, and railroad companies throughut the state, businessmen, customers, tradesmen, ravelers, and every other segment of the public ould not help but see the ubiquitous city views.

European perspective mapping dating from the ate sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries was he artistic model for the latter-day fashion in the U.S. Mass production, volume, and variety of images of owns and cities of all sizes and significance distinguished American views from their predecessors. Unlike previous artists working in the genre, many of the American artists responsible for the lithographs at the height of the bird's eye view craze had neither formal artistic training nor experience. Many of them began their careers as assistants or sales agents and in time held esteemed positions as publishers and artists.[4]

To create a bird's eye view an artist would usually begin by choosing a position or angle from which the city would be depicted, and, if possible, he would view the city from that spot. Then, he would walk the streets and record details in his sketchbook: building facades, bridges, vegetation. Sometimes he would consult an already constructed map, but often he developed his drawing based on his own observations and measurements. Sometimes he solicited opinions and advice of the city's residents during the drawing process. When the drawing was complete, the artist handed off his work, and the lithographer's job began. He transferred the drawing with a greasy crayon to stone, inked and wet the stone, and then completed the process by pulling prints from the inked stone.

In *California on Stone*, Harry T. Peters refers to the printers, publishers, and artists of historic lithography as "the reporters, cameramen and newsreelmen" of their time.[5] By the 1850s San Francisco had become the western hub of this industry, dominated by Charles C. Kuchel and Emil Dresel who began Kuchel and Dresel in 1853. Kuchel and Dresel issued the first view of Yosemite, drawn by Thomas Ayres, and produced a well-known series of California's major cities and mining towns, some of which are featured here from the CHS collections, including *Yreka, French Bar, Angel's*, and *Coloma*. Britton & Rey (1851-1935), the oldest lithography firm west of the Rockies, was a popular publisher that often worked closely with the artists at Kuchel and Dresel, on such views as *Weaverville, Jackson, French Bar, Coloma*, and *Yreka*.

Urban development in California accelerated at the turn of the twentieth century. Simultaneously, towns established during the Gold Rush were shrinking and disappearing. This rapid pace of construction and deconstruction put a damper on demand for bird's eye views. Additionally, advanced mapmaking techniques utilizing airplanes, cameras, and satellites produced images that took the place of bird's eye views. All things must change; their time had flown away.

From the California Historical Society Collections we have selected a number of northern and central California bird's eye views. In each, the mindful viewer will find something surprising or perhaps something enchanting. We invite you to look carefully at land erosion and bare hillsides surrounding French Bar, the magnificent spraying geysers at Calistoga Hot Springs, the river-side activity in Sacramento, and the lively harbor in San Francisco among many other features, great and small. We hope that examining these images with a mind's eye view from 2002 (and beyond) will inspire you to reflect on the changes in California's landscapes and townscapes and cityscapes, as well as the possibilities and options for their future. CHS

See notes beginning on page 240.

Jennifer Liss is the editor of California Chronicle, *the quarterly newsletter of the California Historical Society. She also serves as the managing editor of www.californiahistoricalsociety.org. Ms. Liss lives in San Francisco.*

THE CITY ON THE HILL

Temperance, Race, and Class in Turn-of-the-Century Pasadena

by Michael E. James

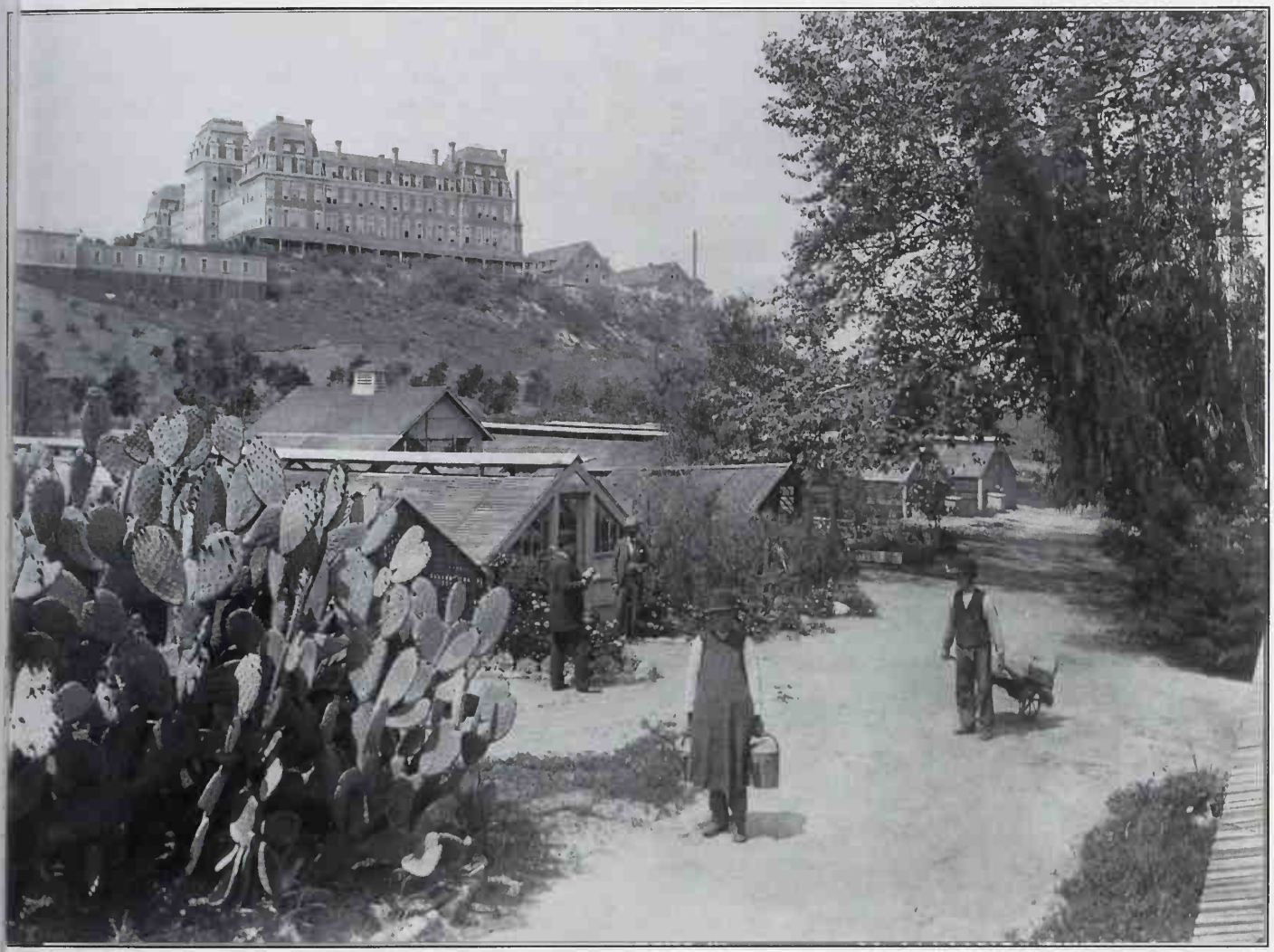
It was clear and cold the morning of December 9, 1886, as Amy Bridges, a young, precocious college girl from a wealthy New England family, rushed to the station to catch the westbound train to Chicago. Nearly two dozen sorority sisters came to see Amy off as she boarded the train with her mama, papa, sister, and more than one hundred twenty-five other tourists. Amy had in her possession a small journal from the Harvard Co-operative Society in which to describe her adventures. As the train pulled out of Boston's station that early morning, Amy made her first entry:

> Many friends came to see us off. Such a party of the college girls. . . . How I did hate to say good-bye to them for so long, as they crowded about our window. We had some lovely hyacinths given us—They shall be the first flowers I press here. . . . a sweet memory of the girls—also they gave us a pretty little paper book of selections of Browning which will give us so many happy thoughts while we are gone. . . . It is very hard to leave our dear home and friends.[1]

This was the family's second trip west in as many years, each member eager to revisit the soft, tranquil Mediterranean winter of southern California that had become such a draw for those who could afford such extended periods of leisure. The Bridges, from Hopkinton, Massachusetts, were part of a throng of Easterners assembled by Walter Raymond of Raymond and Whitcomb Tours, the forerunner of what we might today call the all-inclusive travel package.[2] Their destination was a string of elegant hotels from San Diego to San Francisco. Amy's favorite, though, would be Walter Raymond's flagship hotel and namesake, The Raymond of Pasadena.

When the Bridges arrived at Pasadena, they stepped off the train at the base of what the locals had begun to call "Raymond Hill." A mere bump compared to what Amy had seen on her tour through the mountainous West, Raymond Hill was nonetheless a defining piece of real estate that marked the southern boundary of the village of Pasadena. For the next few months while her college sisters shivered in the Eastern deep freeze, Amy and her family would stroll through fields ablaze with red-orange poppies so brilliant they could be seen fifty miles away from Santa Catalina Island. Her walks took her under huge sheltering oaks she came to call cathedrals and through lush rose gardens that by mid-February would be fragrant with bloom. The climate of southern California, thanks to writers such as Charles Frederick Holder, was becoming world-famous and would soon draw tens of thousands of visitors.[3] In a few years, wintering tourists in southern California would watch a parade of flower-adorned carriages advertising rose blooms in January. By the middle of the twentieth century when television took the Rose Parade and Rose Bowl football game into millions of homes nationwide, the standing joke in Pasadena would be: "what sound is that?" The New Year's Day reply: "the packing of a million suit cases."

The Bridges had arrived that tourist season of 1886-87 to find their quaint Pasadena in the euphoric rush of a great land boom.[4] What was once a village that marked the center of a quiet collection of mid-Western gentry farms was now fully involved in the "bustle and business" of urbanization. If Amy had cared to record what she surely saw at the bottom of Raymond Hill, we would have more than her romantic descriptions of warm, winter blue skies, lush green tree-lined streets, and tales of bargaining with Ah Wong, the silk-stockinged Chinese peddler. We would also have a picture of the squalor of the city's South Raymond slum with its assorted tents and shacks, home to a mix of transient central and southern Europeans, African Americans, men from China, and Mexican *traqueros*, laboring as section hands for the



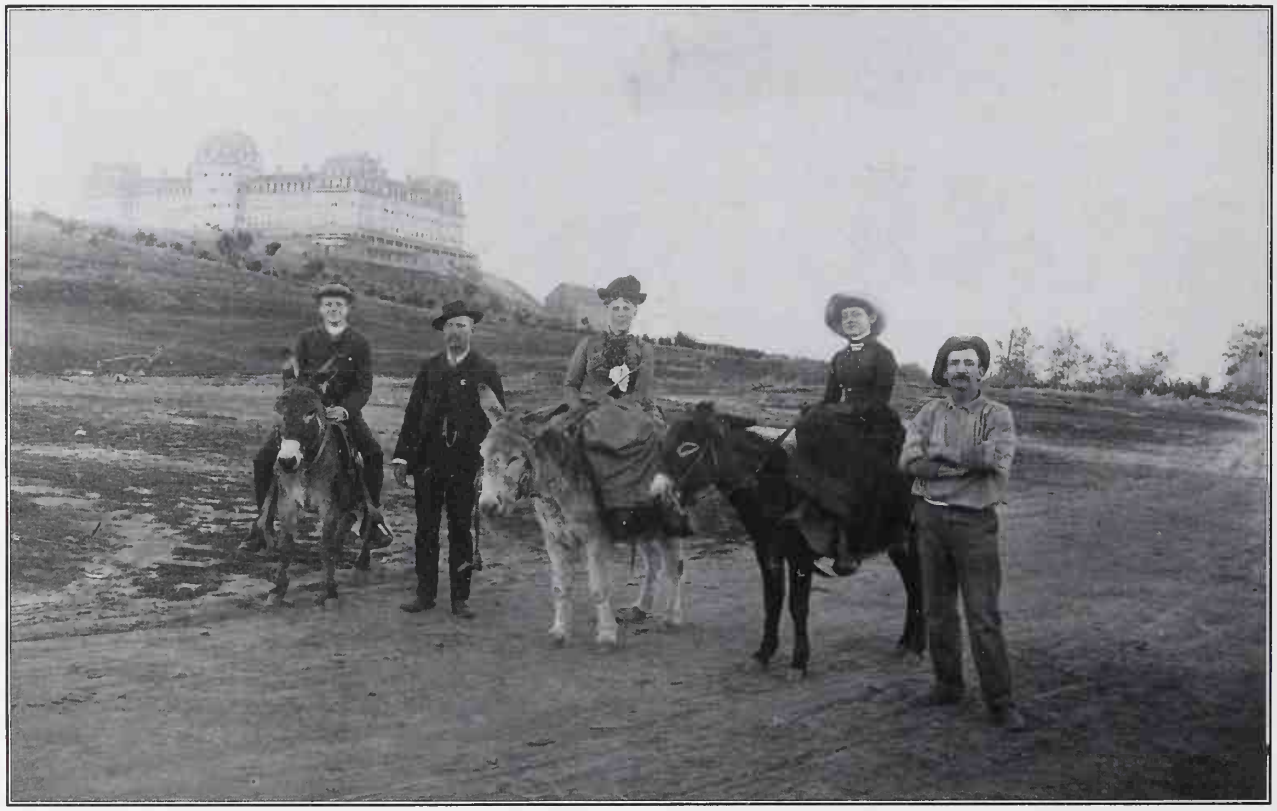
Atop the hill, The Raymond Hotel of Pasadena, 1890, east side, with its greenhouses and gardeners shown in the foreground. The first Raymond Hotel, built by the still-operating Raymond Company, opened in November of 1886 and catered to tour-package guests on winter holiday from the East. Staffed by the company's eastern employees, it initially operated only during the Christmas and winter seasons. On Easter Sunday 1895, a defective chimney flue burst into flames. Fanned by brisk winds, the fire consumed the hotel within an hour, at an estimated loss of $450 thousand. The second Raymond Hotel—also grand but with a different look—opened on the site in December 1901. The hotel was razed during the depression, and there was no third Raymond Hotel, although the locale is still known to some as Raymond Hill, covered now by pleasant apartment buildings. *Courtesy Pasadena History Museum.*

newly arrived Southern Pacific and Santa Fe railroads. Pasadena, a village once, now by the end of the 1880s a booming metropolis of nearly ten thousand that had begun to craft a vision of city-building that might reconcile the needs of rapidly accumulating capital with the needs of a growing, ethnically diverse laboring-class. Despite the altruistic intentions of a generation of progressive reformers, the unfortunate consequence was the systematic segregation of workers and their families into slums that the California Conference on City Planning would describe nearly forty years after Amy's visit as "the worst housing conditions in the state of California."[5]

Examining how Pasadena and the territory west of the Rockies responded to the pressures of urbanization—to the increasing numbers of Anglo-European and immigrant laborers of color who would continually contest the prevailing ethnocentric middle-class ideology—exposes how a community rich in its own mythology of Paradise compromised a set of progressive ideals into social distance and then segregation.

The history of civil rights in the West is the history of conflicts over race, gender, and social class. This, then, is the politics of the margin in late century Pasadena: how the disenfranchised—people of color and the working class in general—reacted to standards imposed by captains of the new industrial economy. In Pasadena, the white, middle-class, and mainly mid-western pioneers believed the lands tumbling down from the San Gabriel mountains were vested with renewal and promise. Southern California was the land of opportunity that obscured the uncertainty inherent in older, industrial communities. The founders saw in the lands that spread out before them the potential for Heaven-on-Earth and they would in the decades that followed their arrival struggle with the "others" to create a community that matched their myth of the Christian "City on the Hill."

What Amy Bridges experienced on her adventures down from the hilltop Raymond Hotel to the bustling civic center was the material representation of a clash between the values of the Protestant middle class and the means secured as capital accumulated and consolidated more wealth. On those "crowded, dirty sidewalks," Amy saw all sorts of "foreign-looking strangers"; to her they were the odd assortment of day laborers, transients, hucksters, Mexican section hands and wood peddlers, Chinese laundrymen and vegetable peddlers, capitalists, evangelists, merchants, all bent on finding their for-



A small pleasure party poses below the recently completed Raymond Hotel. Newly planted citrus seedlings dot the resort's hillsides and hint at the community's growing fruit and vineyard industries. Land prices are at a premium, and if this scene appears starkly underdeveloped, it will soon be otherwise. The previous year, Pasadenans tore down and replaced their public grammar school—their third expansion since the city's founding in 1873—because the property it stood on, at the corner of Colorado and Fair Oaks, one and one-half miles from this site, was considered too valuable to waste. Divided into thirty-five business lots, the sale netted an astounding $45 thousand. In another handful of years, Pasadenans would glow with the opening of their Grand Opera House and Throop University's successor, the Throop Polytechnic Institute, both built on the important north-south axis called Raymond Avenue. *Courtesy Pasadena History Museum.*

tune. Over the next decades, Pasadena's wealthy would assess success in the conflict that was erupting between labor and capital. The tranquility of pre-boom southern California was gone forever.

Just beyond the Pasadena city limits in Los Angeles, labor would become engaged in an epic battle with Harrison Gray Otis, publisher of the *Los Angeles Times*, and the conflict would spill over into Paradise. Pasadena's working men and women would begin to organize in the years after Amy visited The Raymond, and by the first decade of the new century, coupled with an incipient but vigorous socialist movement, the city's laboring class would proudly announce Pasadena a "union town."[6] But it was temperance, or rather the intemperate laboring men and women of the city in the late years of the nineteenth century, that first confirmed the clash between the values of the gentry and social realities. The struggle for Paradise may have begun with the intemperate but it would not end there. Those whom the Protestant middle class determined to be different—the drinking laborer, the Chinese, African Americans, and Mexicans—were eventually regulated to "their" particular location along the edges of the community. By the early 1920s, in fact, Pasadena had the wealthiest per capita population in the country as the rich and super rich continued to make the "Crown of the Valley" their home. This essay is the story of how exclusion began in the "City on the Hill."

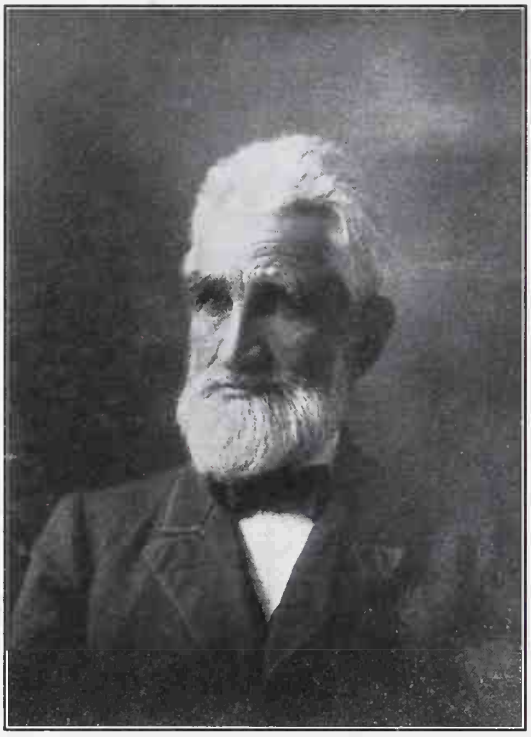
Temperance

During the industrial expansion that followed the Civil War, temperance emerged at the cutting edge of national social reform: prohibitionists and anti-saloon zealots saw moral decay in the big cities and in their minds, the cause was drink and its effects on the character of the laboring class. The founders of Pasadena, most having arrived from the temperance hotbed of Indiana, believed their new community would benefit from a "dry" ordinance. They wrote into their charter an anti-liquor provision that forbade the production or sale of alcoholic drinks within the colony's borders. Theirs was a Christian Utopia and devil drink had no place within the homes or shops of the village; certainly they would never condone something as blasphemous as a saloon.

The founders' motivation to remove alcohol from the public place was framed by their zealous religious orthodoxy.[7] They firmly believed that liquor would undo all their hard work and they made sure that those who joined them in the West were of like mind and spirit. As their utopian vision of Pasadena collapsed around them in the boom of the late 1880s, their anti-drink ordinance took on all the melodrama of a crusade. In Pasadena temperance workers were nurtured in the belief that industry, sobriety, and thrift were more than a set of behaviors; they articulated a character that the middle class sought to develop not only in themselves but in others as well. In places like Pasadena and Long Beach, Monrovia and Alhambra, southern California's Protestant middle class idealized themselves as disciplined, orderly, hard-working, frugal, responsible, morally correct, and self-controlled, apt projections for that early settler from Iowa, Hiram Reid, an anti-drink zealot and the self-appointed first historian of the city. Reid later would work with another more famous evangelical prohibitionist, Amos Throop, the founder of Throop Polytechnic Institute which later became the California Institute of Technology. Throop, like so many "antis" of his day, hated slavery nearly as much as alcohol; testament to his abolitionist sentiments, he proudly stated, was the charred remains of a tree where his burning effigy once hung while he was an alderman in Chicago.[8]

To men like Throop and Reid, intemperance was much more than an inability to abstain from drink; by lacking self-control, one would be unable to marshal the necessary will to forestall the evils of modernity. For Pasadena's anti-drink leadership in the progressive milieu of the late century, having the worker acquire more self-control—or if that failed then controlling the worker—were the tools of redemption. If the worker could be taught some of those idealized notions of Throop's Victorian character—discipline, order, hard-work, frugality, responsibility, probity—then the seemingly aberrant culture of the working class could be controlled and the needs of capital would continue to be met. For Throop, Reid, and many others, including Pasadena's Women's Christian Temperance Union, reconciling how middle-class Protestant culture could co-exist with a lesser, often Catholic worker culture was defined on the daily level by their crusade to rid the community of the devil drink.

What Amy Bridges saw on those dirty sidewalks was the labor building Pasadena, and with it came the inevitable market for drink and working-class leisure. During the boom, even with wages at four to six dollars a day for skilled carpenters and masons, developers had to scramble to find sufficient



Hiram Alvin Reid (1834-1906). Physician and prohibitionist, the Ohio-born Reid dedicat much of his energy to Pasadena's early anti-saloon cause. Also a journalist and poet, remains secure in his status as the first historian of Pasadena, a project he took on late life, and only, he claimed, because his wife Rachel promised to do the typing and hand all household matters, freeing him from those worries. At the age of sixty Reid bough bicycle and taught himself to ride so he could get around town, do research, conduct int views, and take notes for the book. *Courtesy Pasadena History Museum.*

labor. J. W. Wood, the city's first pharmacist as well as an editor for the *Valley Union* newspaper, was one of those builders, and, during the winter Amy Bridges walked Colorado Street, it was his bricks she surely saw being laid. Wood recruited his labor force living in hundreds of tents in the area that would become South Raymond Avenue and within sight of Amy's hotel. The tent-city was a colorful place: canvas in red, blue, and green, some with multi-colored flaps and awnings, pitched in and among the orchards, feed pens, and garbage dumps along the southern border of the city.[9]

Here was a lucrative market for any entrepreneur, and in the winter of 1884, Jerome "Jerry" Beebe, a "well-liked and well-known" self-described capitalist, opened a billiard hall on Colorado Street about a mile from where Amy would board the hotel's jitney for her trips into civic center.[10] With a touch of vaudeville, Beebe hired the recently formed Pasadena Brass Band, ironically made up of some of the town's most ardent anti-drinkers, to open his game room. Initially dry, Beebe's Billiard Hall soon became Beebe's Billiard Hall and Saloon. The civic-minded, led by Reid, asked Beebe to remove the alcohol but he refused. Besides, he said with a smile, he had a lawful license and his patrons would not play their games without drink. Business became so profitable that Beebe's Billiard Hall and Saloon quickly became known simply as "the saloon." Undeterred, by the first week of November the prohibitionists were calling for an anti-liquor town hall meeting. Sensing that not only his livelihood but potentially his life was in danger, Beebe armed himself with a pair of loaded revolvers. Backed by a Los Angeles sheriff, he warned the zealots that he would shoot anyone on sight if they attempted to interfere with his lawful saloon.[11]

A town meeting was held at Central School, directly across the street from Beebe's wood-frame, two-story saloon. The crusaders drafted what would be the first of many anti-drinking resolutions over the next quarter-century. With resolution in hand, a small delegation of clergy and WTCU ladies set off to confront the lion in his den. They were armed with God's word but Beebe would hear none of it.[12]

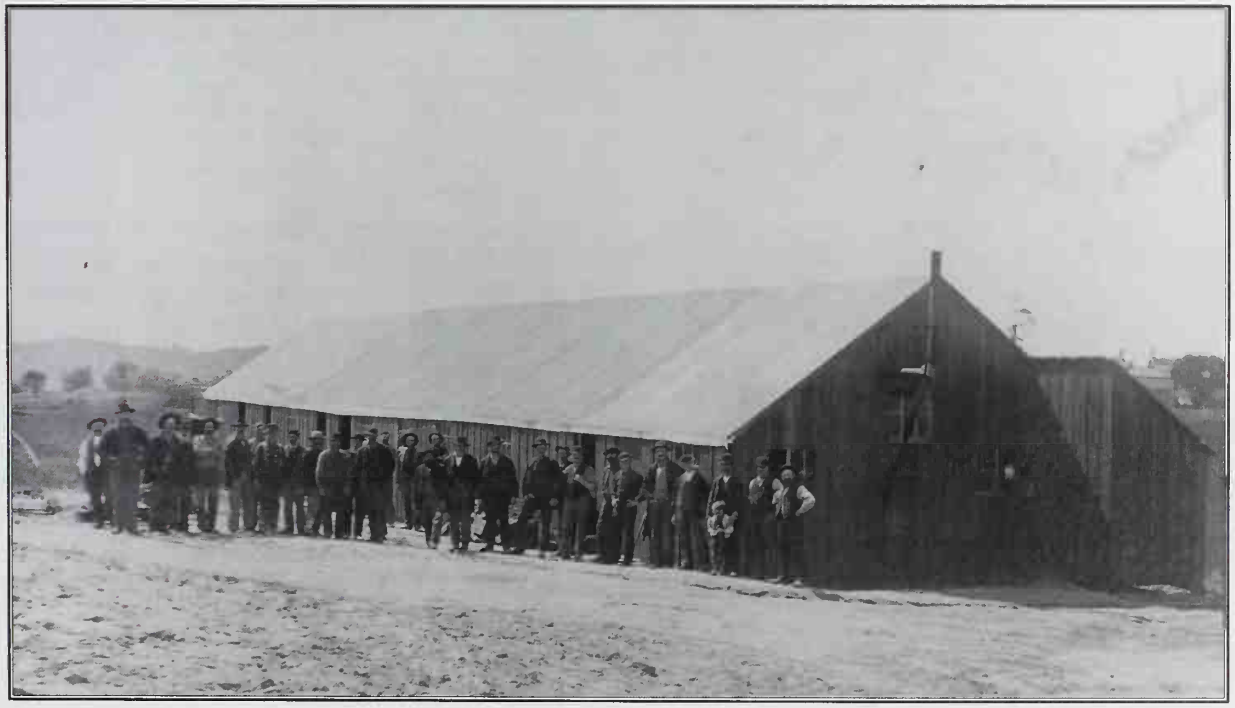
Beebe had run up an American flag over his saloon to show his patriotism—or to flaunt his God-given right to earn a buck. How Beebe responded to the opposition underscores what was at the heart of the crusade: he offered to sell them the property and not engage in the saloon business again if he were paid seven thousand dollars. The crusaders refused his offer, although one suspects that Jerry Beebe knew all along that temperance money would not supplant temperance zeal.[13] Simply buying out Beebe would not eliminate the saloon; Hiram Reid and the others believed that with the big-money liquor business just across the border in Los Angeles, someone would soon replace Beebe. What was needed was control of consumption by controlling the patrons who were consuming the drink. The prohibitionists were after more than elimination of liquor; their mission was the salvation of the working class.

Exclusion: the Laborer as "Other"

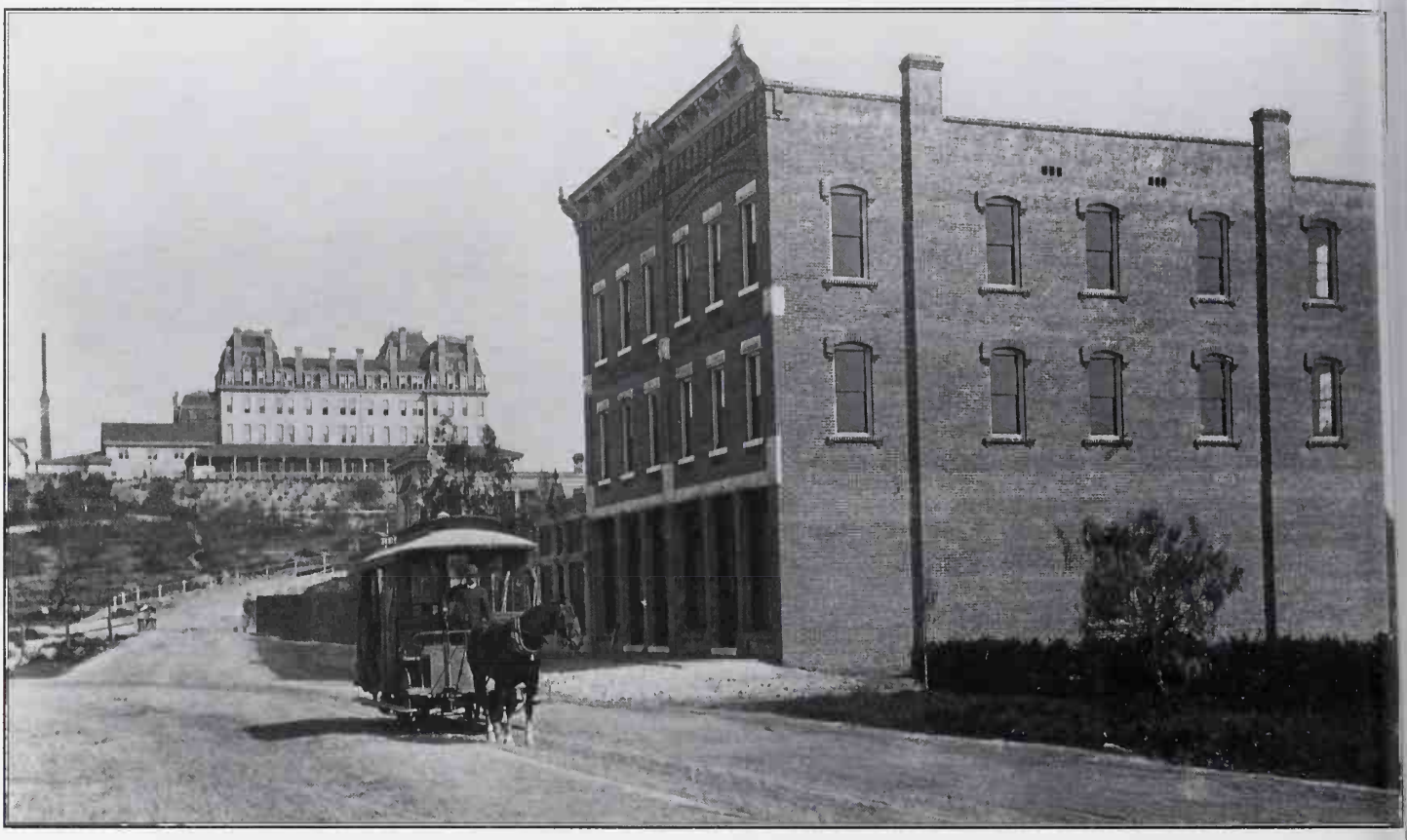
An analysis of the temperance campaign offers an insight into the politics of class formation in late-cen-



As the building boom of the 1880s swept Pasadena—and southern California in general—housing shortages for laborers led to the erection of temporary canvas shelters, such as this 1883 utilitarian surveyor's camp, northwest of The Raymond Hotel. Other tent housing also accommodated the city's downtrodden, itinerant, and immigrant populations. *Courtesy Pasadena History Museum.*



Construction workers on The Raymond Hotel stand outside their barracks-like boarding house, ca. 1883. It took three years to finish the hotel, and employers including the Raymond Company scrambled to find day-laborers to fill jobs during the heyday of city growth. By the turn of the century, low wages were among the issues that led to unionization of carpenters and other tradesmen. *Courtesy Pasadena History Museum.*



A horse-drawn car travels along Columbia Street, Pasadena, with The Raymond Hotel in the distance. Wintering tourists staying at The Raymond, the Green, the Carlton, and other glamorous hotels hopped onto public transportation for all their travel. Except in the very heart of the young city, roads and streets were dirt until after the turn of the century. Pasadena flirted briefly with notions of constructing a bicycle path to Los Angeles, but abandoned the plan mainly because of its cost. Traversing that route, the Arroyo Seco Parkway opened in 1940, passing by just a few blocks from this scene. In 1954, it was renamed the Pasadena Freeway, signifying fast times and rapidly changing lanes in California transportation patterns. *Courtesy Pasadena History Museum.*



The young men of the Meza family, with friends, on Fair Oaks Avenue, 1917. One of the community's long-established families, of native American, native Californian, and Mexican descent, many of the earlier generation worked in Pasadena's agricultural industry. Meza descendants donated their photo collection, an important visual legacy, to the Pasadena History Museum. *Courtesy Pasadena History Museum.*



Pasadena's community brass band, at left, turned out to bolster all manner of city celebrations, including political rallies and patriotic holidays. To the chagrin of some, a few members broke away to play for the opening of Jerome Beebe's saloon in 1884. This photo captures the band and citizenry decked in finery and flowers, standing in front of the first Raymond Hotel. *Courtesy Pasadena History Museum.*

tury southern California. Although Pasadena's temperate middle class had come to perceive the laborer as the "other," the crusade concerned much more than religious zealots prohibiting laborers from drinking liquor. The campaign was a complex negotiation that bartered power and compromise to reduce conflict. The anti-drink campaign reveals how the city's leadership, religious zealots as well as the less temperate business community, worked to control the behavior of the poor and working class within the city's borders. During this first saloon campaign, Pasadena's elites apparently did not publicly differentiate labor by ethnicity or race. Eventually, however, the city's leaders manipulated the mechanics of exclusion during the "Whiskey Wars" to marginalize ethnic and workers' groups that challenged the prevailing social order in Pasadena.[14]

This is not to say that the subsequent marginalization of the working class by the city's business and cultural elites was a conscious, back-room plot to subordinate a disreputable lot of working-class stiffs. Certainly labor's response to efforts to manipulate and deceive working men and women has never been passive acceptance. To understand Pasadena's whiskey wars as the initial segmentation in community building requires more than the convenient application of a "religious benevolence as social control" thesis.[15] The ideology here is too complex to be reduced to a simplistic dynamic of the powerful beating up on the less powerful. As political anthropologist James Scott argues, ideology is deception—sometimes self-deception—but seldom the conscious use of fraud and deceit.[16] Hiram Reid's efforts were not disingenuous acts intended to dupe or trick. To the contrary, marginalizing the working class in this new western community was the by-product of a failed social reform model. The turn-of-the-century middle-class ideology espoused by Reid, Wood, and others among the city's leadership required a reform model—progressivism—that



Rachel Fidelia Harris Reid (1826-1903), a practicing medical physician in Pasadena and first wife of Hiram A. Reid, was born in Portland, New York, and probably received her medical training there. She and Hiram married at her family home in Portland. Once settled in Pasadena, the civic activists aided in the founding of First Congregational Church, Rachel helping organize initial meetings and Hiram serving as its first treasurer. *Courtesy Pasadena History Museum.*

showed a worldview that represented and preserved the public good. It was in the leadership's interest to systematically differentiate the community in order to help stabilize their perception of a precarious social order.

The outcome of Pasadena's progressive impulse was to channel the "outsiders"—Reid's carousing, drinking working class, and later the Chinese, African Americans, and Mexicans—into specific neighborhoods delineated by race, ethnicity, and social class, all, as more than one progressive reformer claimed, "for their own good."[17] Over the next few decades, the anti-drink crusade was but one banner under which the reform campaign would march. Intending to remake the character of the working-class, "Temperance for Christ!" blended with "The New Education" and its manual training and "Opportunity School," which in turn were mediated by progressive women's ideals and their "Mother's Aid Society." These were only a few of the organizational impulses found in nearly every urbanizing community experiencing the effects of a rapidly changing work force with its different cultural and religious orientations. Good hearted, intelligent women and men hoped to create a virtuous, orderly, efficient, and stable community where everyone was Godly, healthy, and clean—and knew their place and accepted it. In their penchant to save the immigrant worker from himself, Pasadena's progressives tried to squeeze the "otherness" out of him.[18]

As the century turned, the conflict in Pasadena was over how to justify the wealth produced by industrialization just as urbanization tore away at the bonds of an idealized pastoral community. Pasadena's powerful faced the same choices as urban leaders in the East, namely, abandoning the city center as idealized visions of a better city were created in the suburbs. But Pasadena was already a suburb, no matter how the city's boosters have consistently rejected that label. Looming just over its western border was a rapidly industrializing Los Angeles that would see strikes, labor violence, and an increasing population of poor ethnic, African American, and Mexican families. Furthermore, Pasadena's civic center was indeed just that, a civic place without belching smoke stacks and crumbling tenements housing the dispossessed. Pasadena's leadership were carefully crafting an image of "the City on the Hill." For the devout like Reid it meant an absence of immorality; for others less religiously observant, it meant a retreat from squalor, violence, and confusion. The city was a refuge, an escape to Paradise. The question for Pasadena's elite was how to continue to acquire material wealth and yet retain the city as Paradise.

The Whiskey War

Pasadena's initial Whiskey War, as it came to be known, ended in a fragile compromise negotiated among investors who respected and believed in temperance ideals but feared that the over-zealousness of the crusade would drive away labor needed to build Paradise or, worse yet, discourage the wealthy from enjoying the fruits of that labor. Conversely, most prohibitionists, knowing their zeal was the hand of God, eventually came to understand that they had to find common ground with capital. Nothing of substance could be accomplished until both sides developed a plan that would end the indiscriminate sale of alcohol, keep the laborer working, and allow the wealthy tourist a drink with din-

ner. The linchpin of the campaign would be the phrase "indiscriminate sale of liquor."

Reid's crusade was not universally accepted in the community. We would expect labor to resist being driven from their only public watering hole. Increasingly, however, the major opposition to Reid came not from the working class but from prominent businessmen heavily invested in projects along Colorado Boulevard and Fair Oaks Avenue. The opposition came when Reid and his group demanded that all alcohol be banned from the city, regardless of who drank and where. Opposition surfaced from five newspapers, three in Pasadena and two in Los Angeles. Initially, business supported the campaign, but as Reid and his cohort ratcheted the cause into a crusade, investors like Ed Webster and A. K. McQuilling who were heavily engaged in speculative ventures in and around the civic center, worried that Reid's radical prohibition might disrupt labor. Moreover, businessmen cringed when Reid's crusade painted the city as a community in conflict over its morals. That too was bad for business. After years of struggle—and before prohibition became federal law in the early 1920s—an unwritten yet tenuous compromise was reached between Pasadena's more centrist prohibitionists and the business community. The accord came when both parties understood the anti-drink campaign was counter-productive. As always, the business community abhorred conflict because it was not good for profit. The temperance campaign hated liquor and its effects on the working class.

The truce that ended the whiskey wars was the result of strategies that grew out of an exclusionary ideology firmly rooted in the principles of capital and profit. The strategies were tested and perfected again and again when conflict threatened the stability of capital investment. The tactics the city's leadership used in excluding the working-class laborer developed over time into de facto "agreements" that became fundamental to the workings of Pasadena's schools, health care, housing, law enforcement, and civic government. For a community like Pasadena that was nurtured in the belief of an attainable Paradise, public conflict was to be avoided at all costs. Pharmacist Wood summed it up best when he said that business grew tired of the agitation: he chastised Reid because his efforts to rid the city of the saloon only "advertised [Pasadena] as having a saloon, which brought working men there to drink."[19]

It took nearly ten years for the city to resolve the first of what would be many prohibition battles and in doing so, the middle and upper classes more often than not put property—and profit—ahead of religious conviction. Modeling their program on the national anti-liquor campaign, temperance workers formed the Mutual Protection Association (MPA). With an executive council composed of thirty of the most influential business interests in the city, according to Hiram Reid, the MPA initiated a coercive campaign directed against those opposed to its platform. The antis came to see the enemy as anyone who had not publicly joined the association. Reid created his own temperance newspaper, *The Standard*, and the inaugural issue trumpeted, "NO SALOON IN THE VALLEY," a poem Reid wrote with an opening stanza worthy of the cause:

> Rise, Pasadena! march and drill
> to this your bugle's rally—
> A church or School
> on every hill but
> NO SALOON IN THE VALLEY"[20]

What was becoming evident was the development of a mass psychology that saw liquor and its working-class abusers as something odd and very separate from the culture of the Protestant middle class. The majority of white, middle-class devout Protestants saw the world as dichotomous, divided in a life and death struggle between the forces of darkness and light. If the poor and the working class were not in the business of reforming themselves, which they surely were not, then Reid and his brothers and sisters would do it for them. Increasingly the apostolic, reform-minded saw the laborer as strangely "foreign." In Pasadena, the ideology of the temperance movement conceived the world in terms of "otherness;" it used language that reduced the immigrant and working class into caricatures thought so evil and threatening that efforts to remake the laborer would erupt into fits of rage and violence against those they deemed too foreign to be compatible. In the mind of an evangelical like Hiram Reid, this was, indeed, a holy war:

> [Be it resolved that] . . . every place in Pasadena, where intoxicating liquors are dispensed contrary to the law, is an infamous invasion of our territory by a foreign foe; as a nesting place of anarchy and outlawry; as in flagrant defiance of the very ground principles of Republican government. And against any and all such we declare unremitting war.
>
> . . . aiders, abettors, and supporters of such places,

whether openly or secretly, are allies of the common enemy, and are helping to destroy the peace and safety of our homes, the value of our property, the good name of our city, the rights of local government.[21]

By March of 1885, Reid and the MPA were convinced Beebe would not budge concerning liquor sale at his billiard hall. They drafted a resolution supported, Reid said, by 63 businesses and 272 voters. The resolution, distributed as a handbill, demanded an end to the indiscriminate sale of liquor in the city. Openly boycotting businesses not supporting the crusade, Reid and his followers aimed the resolution at the profit side of temperance:

> We the undersigned, citizens of Pasadena, realiz[e] that the indiscriminate sale of intoxicating liquors in our midst depreciates the value of our homes, retards immigration, injures our business interests, endangers our lives and property, leads our young men and boys into habits of vice and crime, and lowers the moral tone of our society.[22]

Temperance leadership had altered its original position. No longer was this a single-issue campaign; the antis understood all too well the declining moral tone brought about by the saloon. Arrests had skyrocketed in their once peaceful village and most, according to Reid's history, were alcohol related.[23] The leadership knew that intoxicating liquors devalued and depreciated their community but only when the sale of liquor was, as they put it, "indiscriminate." In a friendly newspaper editorial, one of Reid's allies told the community that for ten years there had been no "saloon, no criminal record, and no paupers."[24] The message was clear: with Beebe's saloon, Pasadena would experience what other, less Christian cities found commonplace: the criminal ways of the poor and the working class. Therefore, the "practical business object of this anti-saloon agreement is to keep out of our midst that class of men who would spend their earnings at the saloon thus sustaining the nuisance here, with all the crimes and other evils that naturally occur at such a place or by reason of it . . ."[25]

The MPA resolution was aimed not only at ridding the city of the indiscriminate sale of alcohol, but also more effectively discouraging "that class of men" from remaining in town after the day's labor. The goal was to keep labor plentiful and complacent. The trick was to get labor out of the city by end of the workday. The method was the elimination of the saloon.

The MPA boycott did little. Liquor still flowed at Beebe's saloon, and, under California law, the crusaders were legally powerless to do anything about it. Reid believed that no more than a handful of Pasadena men refused to support the boycott, yet Beebe's business still thrived. Reid was wrong. There may have been a majority of signatures but the majority did not support his campaign. Wood claims many were intimidated by the crusade. No upstanding member of the community wished to see drunks sleeping off the night's pleasure in some public place, but Wood and his business allies were more concerned with Reid's over-zealous campaign than with inebriated labor. Wood and the others could agree to restrict the drinking laborer but they could not agree to indiscriminately restrict drinking.[26]

The anti-alcohol forces were convinced that it was the liquor business in Los Angeles that continued to support Beebe, further proof to the temperance forces that the problem was outside Pasadena's borders.[27] Control those borders, they argued, and control "the problem." And Reid's "problem" was becoming more and more acute: the number of laborers streaming into the city looking for work and remaining after hours to drink was "changing and increasing so rapidly," wrote Reid, that something drastic had to be done.[28]

The response was an attempt to close the borders, in effect, to wall off the community through incorporation. Under California law, in a fourth- or fifth-class city, citizens could petition to incorporate, and next, act to declare the sale of alcohol illegal, thereby removing the saloon, and with it, the reformers reasoned, the appeal for workers to remain in the city after work. However, to incorporate, Pasadena would have to go to the polls and in June of 1886, nearly a year after the petition was sent to the County Board of Supervisors, Pasadena became an official city under California law.[29] In an event rich with irony, Pasadena's incorporation, which was in and of itself a legitimate public effort to create an inclusive community, grew out of an effort to exclude an entire community of working-class men and women.

All the while Beebe's saloon "had been gaining a stronger foothold by the great influx of a drinking class of mechanics and laboring men who flocked to Pasadena in swarms—drawn by the high wages paid, and the great demand for labor in the booming

rush of new buildings. . . ."[30] When the issue of alcohol in public places was finally joined in legislation it turned out that what really mattered in Pasadena was where those public places were located. When the temperance workers brought to the city attorney's office enough signatures to create an ordinance that would restrict the sale of drink, a quiet deal was cut between the city and the owners of the Carleton, a new hotel Amy Bridges greatly admired.[31] Advised that no law preventing beer and wine from being served with meals in a hotel would ever be upheld in the courts, the anti-drink forces winked at the Carleton, and took what some lamented as a tainted victory.[32] The anti-drink Ordinance 45 was read into the books not mentioning the hotels, yet all knew that no arrests would be made there.

The compromise that allowed tourist hotels to serve liquor was not a contradiction; the reformers still believed Ordinance 45 to be a victory over the forces of evil. Ignoring the alcohol being served at the Carleton, Reid boasted that they had "cornered the California Whisky Lion in his Den."[33] More to the point, the anti-drink forces accomplished what they had set out to do: control the working class by closing the saloon. Within months, Beebe sold to a man named Campbell, and then Campbell, unable to prevent the ordinance from closing his saloon, left town, much to the delight of the crusaders and the business men along Colorado. Still, alcohol continued to be served at the Carleton, The Raymond, and a scattering of other smaller hotels and restaurants in and around the civic center, including one owned by the fire chief, Pete Stiel.[34] Because these were not places that catered to the working class, an underground liquor business took hold in Pasadena. Open defiance of the ordinance as well as thriving illegal liquor distilleries, the "blind pigs" or "private porcines of obscure vision," as Wood called them, began to pop up and the city was now confronted with enforcing an unenforceable ordinance.[35]

Reid's crusaders did not wait for the municipal government to respond to the illegal trade. Within the week they created an Enforcement Committee, headed by twelve men representing the Protestant churches, civic organizations such as the YMCA, and three banks. The WCTU, apparently believing Reid could better represent their interests than they could, threw their support behind the good doctor, for as they told him, "The Philistines are upon us and after fervent prayer . . ." they appointed Reid to act "for God, home, and native land."[36]

This was serious business. The ordinance was worthless if the liquor interests could continue to manufacture and sell their product. An additional fear among temperance advocates was that the Philistines planned to test Ordinance 45 by opening two wholesale businesses in the city. As chairman of the committee, Reid vowed to "whip these sly and scaly law br[e]akers" and within the week, he hired two well-known Los Angeles temperance lawyers and a detective agency to search for illegal liquor. He also hired a chemistry professor to check for any "falsely named liquors." Reid's detectives went about town making life so hot that labor apparently retaliated and the detectives were "beaten, gouged, [and] severely injured." The temperance effort had gotten out of hand. Reid's vigilantes were involved in repeated brawls; one had a near fatal gun fight; and in short order, disgruntled townsfolk ran the detectives out of town.[37]

Reid and his committee had gone too far. The streets had become a battleground and business interests would not abide such a contentious atmosphere—there was entirely too much money at stake, now and in the future. A new law, Ordinance 125, with the infamous hotel liquor clause intact, would come to be decided in the municipal election of 1890. Everyone saw the election as a referendum on who was permitted to drink and where that transaction could take place. Ultimately, the election legalized eradication of a working-class saloon and the sanctioning of alcohol in particular places. The liberal "Citizens Ticket" slate won a narrow election. Just before the vote, the Citizens' candidates published a disclaimer that under no circumstances would they support a saloon, bar, or tipping house, and further, they "unalterably opposed . . . encouraging the promiscuous sale or use of intoxicating liquors."[38]

The election turned out to be a disaster for Reid's temperance forces. All of their candidates lost trustee seats. The saloon may have been eliminated but alcohol was not. After years of engaging in a haranguing, finger-pointing, fist-throwing campaign to rid the city of rumholes, the pro-drink forces celebrated by taunting Reid and the crusaders. Reid described the scene:

> That night after the result was announced, a drunken mob went around yelling and howling as if pandemonium had broke [sic] loose. Old tin pans and empty oil cans were pounded on, fishhorns blown, and every other device used to make a hideous racket. A mob of men and boys thus equipped, and

> variously estimated at 40 to 70 . . . yelling like savages bent on a cannibal feast; hooting, howling, groaning; making mock prayers; banging their pans and hooting their fishhorns.[39]

Merely closing a saloon did not make for a dry city. Not long after the election, and contrary to what T.P. Lukens—a Citizens Ticket candidate and prominent real estate broker—and the others professed, alcohol continued to be sold openly. Reid even claimed that beer was being served to carriage passengers traveling to and from Los Angeles. Someone mocked Reid by declaring at a public hearing that he could buy liquor in the city "And we don't have to go behind a screen to drink it, either!"[40] Occasionally, the city marshall would haul in someone for illegally serving or distilling liquor. For example, in 1890, Thomas Twaits, a "colored man known as Cheap John," was arrested and arraigned for violating the ordinance. No matter the crusader's efforts, the working class refused to be cajoled or legislated into teetotaling.[41]

Legalizing liquor in only a few hotels and restaurants, Ordinance 125 was to buckle under its blatant illegality. The city was recovering from the collapse of the speculative boom and there was renewed vigor in the business community. Wealthy visitors from the east and midwest built magnificent homes—mainly over-wintering mansions—along south Orange Grove Boulevard, so many that by the turn of the century the street was called "Millionaire's Row." Restaurants and hotels were springing up in and around the city. In March of 1892, the trustees enacted a new prohibitory law, Ordinance 195, with the hotel clause embellished so that beer and wine could be served with meals in "any hotel, restaurant, or boarding house."[42] Fourteen months later, the trustees apparently realized that they had erred by not restricting alcohol sales with meals anywhere in the city. Accordingly, they amended the ordinance to read "that prohibition shall not apply to sale of vinous or malt liquors when sold with and as part of a regular *meal costing not less than twenty five cents.* . . ."[43] Trustees inserted the italics to demonstrate once again to the working stiff that his labor was welcome but not his off-work dining and drinking.

Passing ordinances proclaiming the city free of the dreaded saloon was apparently sufficient for Pasadena to qualify as dry in certain circles. The national Anti-Saloon League yearbooks, printed and distributed free to libraries, schools, and organizations around the country, listed Pasadena in 1913 as having been "dry for twenty-four years." Saloons were forbidden by charter, wrote yearbook editor Ernest Hurst Cherrington, and during those twenty-four years, the assessed valuation of property "increased from one million to nearly forty-five million dollars." Cherrington went on to say that Pasadena's businessmen "are a unit in declaring that being a 'no-saloon city' has greatly helped business."[44] Slightly exaggerating the length of dryness—twenty-four years would put it two years before Beebe's saloon—the city's boosters continued to promote an image that was at best contradictory. Pasadena's elite were crafting a vision of a privileged class of residents and guests residing in grand homes and magnificent hotels built by labor that no one was supposed to see. It was a vision that promoters, politicians, realtors, and others would continue to advance throughout the twentieth century.

The Chinese Riot: Exclusion Perfected

The city's effort to exclude the working class was more than the expressed tension between labor and capital. Unlike Europe where social class conflict drove social obligation, the development of social policy in the U.S. was determined "by the clash between racial diversity and an idealized American citizenry."[45] As the nineteenth century turned, social class "otherness" so prevalent in urban, eastern communities became indivisible from ethnic, religious, and racial "otherness."[46] As business interests and workers moved West after the end of the Civil War, and the pace of foreign immigration quickened, class politics increasingly became the politics of race. Some argue that in the volatile expanse of the great trans-Mississippi territories, race always has been the guiding hand of social policy. It is not coincidental, then, that Pasadena's exclusion of the working class occurred simultaneously with the forced expulsion of Pasadena's entire Chinese population. Race and class politics, Pasadena-style, developed from the contested ideological terrain where an idealized democracy met the principle of profit. In Pasadena, along with leadership's demand for an end to indiscriminate use of liquor by an expanding workforce, a darkening labor force was now present. Amy Bridges's "foreign-looking men and boys" were threatening the stability of the sanctuary on the hill. Urbanization had destroyed the homogeneity of the population.[47]

The racial and ethnic heterogeneity that was becoming common on the streets of the city nurtured

a fear of racial "otherness" in white Pasadena. White Pasadenans witnessed the arrival of darker-skinned workers—Chinese, Mexicans, and a burgeoning number of southern and central Europeans. These foreigners, in addition to the few remaining indigenous, provided the founders of Pasadena with the tangible evidence that these "others" would permeate their close-knit homogenous community and destroy the foundation of Paradise. In defense of "God, Home, and Native Land," white Pasadenans joined together in "America for Americans," otherwise known as the American Protective Association, a national nativist organization that was anti-Catholic, racist, and prone to fits of violence against dark immigrants from the South and East. Their emblems were the American flag and the little red schoolhouse. They campaigned for laws in the city that would restrict land ownership to "Americans" and require literacy tests in English as a perquisite to suffrage. In 1895, 450 red-blooded Pasadenans—easily 10 percent of the adult population—had joined the local chapter.[48]

The Chinese, with their "strange and incomprehensible ways," were especially vulnerable in a community which felt threatened by demographic changes. Since the Depression of 1873, the mood of the country had been growing steadily anti-labor, and now as the century was drawing to a close, economic instability appeared to many an expectation rather than an aberration. During this intense period of economic and social stratification, the monied classes saw strikes and labor violence as the unfortunate consequence of industrialization. The result was the emergence of a racially and hierarchically segmented labor market with a surplus of workers.[49]

Pasadena had felt the effects of these changes as the boom of the 1880s intensified. Around the state, the Chinese, as the least powerful and most visible "outsiders," were subject to acts of violence by workers who also felt threatened in the job market. Throughout the 1880s, Chinese communities across the western states were attacked, often by members of nascent labor unions. The Chinese had become the scapegoat for California's economic ills.[50]

As orchard laborers and domestics, some two dozen Chinese were employed by about two hundred gentry farmers in the Pasadena area during the 1870s and early 1880s.[51] With railroad connections to Los Angeles and the East completed, the number of Chinese, black, Mexican, and white laborers grew, and Amy Bridges saw it: on those dirty and narrow wooden sidewalks were swarms of "foreign looking men and children." These were the laborers coming to build the West.



This traditionally posed, handsome, 1895 portrait of Lee Kin Ak, member of the Chinese bible school established by Pasadena's Congregational Church, belies the Asian community's precarious standing in the community at large. Although Amy Bridges bought small items from Chinese peddlers, and other Chinese might be hired as laundrymen or farmworkers, by 1885 they were restricted to outlying regions of the city and faced numerous employment barriers. Typical of these, one citrus grower's outbuildings prominently posted the notice "Chinese not employed here." *Courtesy Pasadena History Museum.*

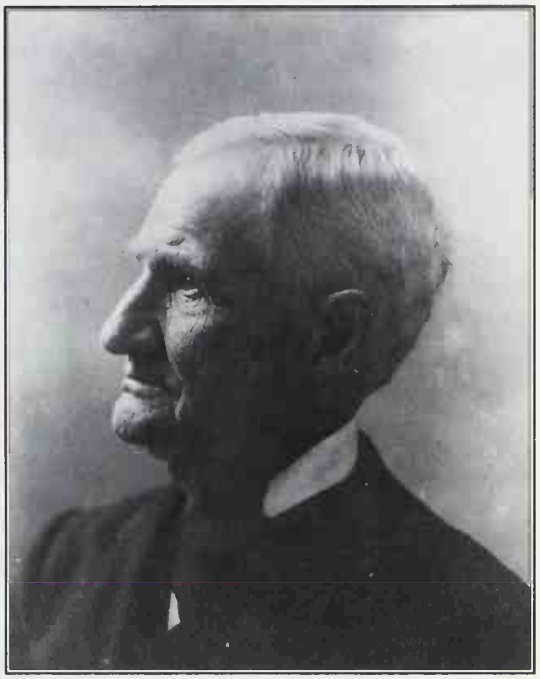
The Chinese were part of the influx into Pasadena. Denied but the most menial of occupations, they found in urban life one occupation that could give them the stability of proprietorship: the laundry.[52] By the 1880s, three-fourths of all the laundries in California were run by Chinese. Usually the laundry was small, employing three to five men, often related by kin or province. Using capital from kinship cooperatives, washhouses served the needs of both the



Whites taunting Chinese laundrymen on the evening of November 6, 1885, caused the fire that destroyed the laundry standing on South Fair Oaks Avenue. This photo captures the destruction and the onlookers who gaped at the sad devastation. Quoting a newspaper account of the episode, historian Hiram Reid wrote that city leaders immediately passed an ordinance restricting the Chinese from a section of the city, giving those currently within that area a "reasonable" amount of time to leave, assuring that these steps were necessary to avoid mob law and preserve the community's good name. The despicable bigotry that led to the fire was mirrored in Pasadena's news coverage, as the account concluded, "The above were fully carried out, the Chinamen have gone, and order reigns." *Courtesy Pasadena History Museum.*



Young members of the Meza family of Pasadena lined up in 1924 and linked together in Sierra Madre vineyards. Citrus groves and vineyards, planted by Pasadena's Indiana Colony, were intended as leading regional crops, as they became, but were envisioned by those pioneers to produce table grapes or fruit juice only. *Courtesy Pasadena History Museum.*



A s Gager Throop (1811-1894). Founder of Pasadena's Throop University (1891), first lo ed in a building that still stands at the southeast corner of Fair Oaks and Green Street. A r two or three name changes and relocations, Throop evolved into the renown Cali- fo ia Institute of Technology. Before settling in Pasadena he had run for mayor of Chicago or e Temperance ticket in 1854, but was defeated. In California he continued the cause, te ing with Hiram Reid and others to get an anti-saloon ordinance on the city's books ar to close down the only saloon, where some working class laborers played billiards and bo ght drinks. *Courtesy Pasadena History Museum.*

white and Chinese communities. The first Chinese washhouse in the village might have been on south Orange Grove, not far from the city center. The Chinese had occupied the building after a German grocer named Rosenbaum was ousted by temperance folks when he tried to sell liquor along with his millinery and canned goods. A larger Chinese business was started in the early 1880s, on south Fair Oaks, just below Colorado, directly in the path of the rapidly developing financial center. The enterprise included not only a washhouse but a store, an employment office, and lodging rooms. The washhouse occupied a rough-board building owned by Jacob Hisey. The store, boarding house, and employment office were located in two buildings owned by another investor, A. F. Mills. Existence of an employment office and boarding rooms suggests that Pasadena's Chinese community was growing in size and prosperity. During the boom, when property values rose rapidly, land in the city center had become some of the most valuable property in the West. There were fortunes to be made and with the increasing anti-Chinese sentiment in the region, Pasadena's Chinatown was about to be moved.[53]

The Chinese business community occupied buildings owned by some of the earliest land speculators in Pasadena. In 1877 A. F. Mills bought fifteen acres at the southwest corner of Fair Oaks and Colorado; he then sold a parcel to Jacob Hisey in 1882. In between the two transactions, he and scores of other investors bought and sold land so often that by the middle of the 1880s some of the property had changed hands dozens of times. During the height of boom madness, a single parcel of land was often sold and resold twenty times in a week. The transactions were very nearly always on the margin, meaning that little hard currency was exchanged with the deed. This was the pattern of capital accumulation, where commodities are traded in an atmosphere of constant speculation. In Pasadena, speculation was the very heart and soul of the community's economic vitality; the city was founded by land speculators who, not surprisingly, wished to protect their investment by isolating their community from the ravages of urbanization.

In the early 1880s, a handful of investors consolidated property in the civic center. Among them, real estate broker Lukens, his partners McQuilling and Simpson; and also speculators like Ed Webster and his business partners, the Ward Brothers, were particularly active. By October of 1885, Webster and his syndicate owned enough property contiguous to Colorado and Fair Oaks to begin building a three story, block-long brick building that would eventually house much of the city's financial empire. The Ward Building was a stone's throw away from the Chinese washhouse.

On the evening of November 6, 1885, just a few weeks after the Rock Springs Mine massacre in Wyoming where white miners killed twenty-eight Chinese, a group of white "transient laborers, local men and boys" sitting across the street from the Chinese washhouse "worked themselves up into a collective rage." Reid says they were talking "Chinaman" and began throwing rocks at the men ironing clothes inside the washhouse.[54] A kerosene lamp was upset, and the building was ablaze. The Chinese fled for their lives and barricaded themselves in Mills's adjacent building, but not before the

mob looted the burning washhouse. The mob followed them, and with "vile imprecations," including threats of lynching, they stormed the Mills building, trying to force the Chinese out in the open. Wisely the laundrymen refused, but the crazed mob began to tear away at the boards. Luckily, Deputy Sheriff Thomas Banbury and three or four other quickly deputized businessmen in the downtown area persuaded the mob to disperse, but only after they had ordered the Chinese to be out of downtown within twenty-four hours.[55] Although dismissed as an unfortunate isolated incident in Pasadena history, it might have become the carnage Los Angeles had already experienced. Ten years before, close to the historic center of Los Angeles, a vicious mob dragged Chinese men and women out of their homes along "Nigger Alley" and hanged them from propped-up wagon hitches. Nineteen Chinese were lynched but no one was convicted of the crime. Pasadena's washhouse incident, known in local lore as the "Chinese Riot"—as if the Chinese had been doing the rioting—was one more violent manifestation of a larger, regional pattern involving Chinese exclusion from urban investment zones.[56]

Even in the atmosphere of anti-Chinese hysteria during this period, Pasadena's outbreak of the violence seemed contrived. The day after, the *Valley Union* reported that Deputy Sheriff Banbury had made "arrangements" for the Chinese to leave downtown two weeks earlier. The newspaper said he had "leased premises" for the Chinese to relocate their washhouse ". . . away outside the town center," and that the new Chinese laundry would be " . . . out of the way of annoying anyone." In addition to the deputy sheriff, the carpenter, a Mr. Clark, "made arrangements with the other two Chinese tenants to erect places for them immediately in the same neighborhood; thus removing the entire lot of Chinamen from the center of town."[57] That "neighborhood" was the South Raymond slum, an area that also became segregated housing to increasing numbers of Mexicans, blacks, and eastern Europeans. *The Los Angeles Times* reported that the city's "respectable portion" did not want the Chinese to occupy the city center but neither did they want them too far away. The *Times* reported that the Chinese "may stay indefinitely [because] their labor is needed."[58] All the circumstances, including the agreement with a city official before the violence, points to the possibility that the laundrymen resisted the move or at the very least had begun to smell a rat. It seems likely that the riot was in fact a vigilante effort to forcibly remove the Chinese.

Whatever the genesis of the eviction, within a matter of hours the Chinese relocation was institutionalized. The following day, thirty-five businessmen from the downtown area crowded into Lukens's real estate office to sign a resolution restricting the Chinese to an area outside the civic center. The signatories of the restrictive covenant comprise a who's who in the business community: besides Lukens, there was pharmacist Wood, McQuilling, Webster, James Clark, Mills, Hisey, carpenter Byron Clark, Arthur Cruickshank, and the president of the First National bank, P. M. Green, and nearly every other important land owner along the Colorado/Fair Oaks axis.

Taking their cue from the temperance crusade and putting distance between themselves and the vigilantes, the resolution blamed the working class for the violence and then warned that business interests in the city would tolerate no "mob law." They cordoned off the Chinese from the civic body of the community; the resolution said it was "the sentiment of this community that no Chinese quarters be allowed within" what was the financial heart of Pasadena. The anti-Chinese resolution went on to insist "that everything [must] be done decently and in order [because] the good name of our community depends on its law-abiding character, and that we will use all necessary means to preserve such character." Just as the temperance crusade worked to restrict labor from occupying the city center after hours, "all necessary means" in the Chinese resolution meant the relocation of an entire "other" community away from city center and its prime real estate. The *Valley Union* concluded, "the Chinamen are gone and order reigns."[59]

Indeed. As the century turned, Pasadena had firmly established its policies of order. The city's elite were consumed by the pursuit of profit as the city's fathers (and in the early decades of the new century, its mothers) continued to negotiate municipal strategies that attempted to manage growth through class and racial exclusion. By World War I, the City on the Hill could very well have shown itself to the outside world as "The White City" where racial practices, religious orthodoxy, and class and racial violence were cloaked in gentility that publicly rejected any suggestion of social discord. The city planners created a fictitious domestic ideal in which Pasadena was "a liberal, Protestant upper-middle class day-



Originally printed as a postcard, this late-nineteenth century photo shows two Chinese residents of Pasadena, one in traditional clothing, sitting on a remarkable gourd-vine entwined porch. Although the Chinese were often resented or misunderstood by many whites, including leading citizens, many were employed by the upper classes to provide essential services as household servants, cooks, and gardeners. *Courtesy Pasadena History Museum.*

dream."[60] Men like Reid, Lukens, and Wood laid a foundation of civic culture that, by policy and social "custom," marginalized working men and women; wealth required the importation of labor but the city's leadership refused to recognize the civic right of labor to live and play in the city. In short, Pasadena was a city fantasy unlike any in the country. By the early 1920s, Pasadena had the wealthiest per capita population in the country as the rich and super rich continued to make the "Crown of the Valley" their home. Given its wealth, it is not hard to imagine a community so deluded by its myth-making that it would exclude any group or idea that might bring the risk of social conflict. In the decades following World War I, as the city struggled with growth, economic depression, and the consequences of systematizing racial and class exclusion, Pasadena's hierarchy came to believe that its destiny was a new world Shangri-la, where wealth, racial superiority, and a quiet but conservative Protestantism would thrive amidst the chaos of the twentieth century. CHS

See notes beginning on page 241.

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Carey McWilliams (1905-1980) at the University of California Los Angeles on January 11, 1965.
Photo courtesy UCLA Photography.

Teaching—and Learning from—Carey McWilliams

by Catherine A. Corman

It's easy to arrive at the subject of Carey McWilliams and enter into a pure love-fest, ending with a blanket endorsement.[1] Though his legacy, especially to historians of the American West, is well established, many non-Westerners and many non-historians don't know just how to place McWilliams—or even who he is. Why teach his works? Because, as many of us already believe, McWilliams was a visionary, a person of unwavering convictions committed to civil rights and opposed to all forms of prejudice. A masterful prose stylist, a thinker often ahead of his time, Carey McWilliams was gifted with the ability to bring abstract economic ideas and political events down to concrete tales about specific people. As a lay historian, social critic, and journalist, McWilliams wrote books and articles and edited *The Nation* for more than a half century. There, he subtly helped to develop academic fields including ethnic and environmental studies, and served as a model to activists interested in furthering symbiotic relationships among law, politics, history, and print media. Westerners, for their part, seem interested in McWilliams only to the extent that his work engages with their own field. Here, I want to suggest at least three ways that we can extend McWilliams's shelf life, putting his writings to good use in and beyond a variety of classroom settings.

First, a bit of background. Born in 1905 near Steamboat Springs, Colorado, McWilliams grew up on his parents' cattle ranch in the Rocky Mountains. His father, a descendant of Scots-Irish Protestants from Northern Ireland, was a prominent, conservative, wealthy stockman who became a state senator. His mother, of French Canadian and German Catholic heritage, came to Colorado in her late twenties to teach school. "With such a comically mixed background it is not surprising that I never identified with any specific ethnic or religious group," McWilliams concluded in his autobiography. "I am neither a WASP nor an ethnic but a hybrid, a maverick without a pedigree."[2]

His idyllic pastoral upbringing ended abruptly in 1919 after the German navy lifted its World War I blockade of Argentina. Within months, the cattle market was flooded with inexpensive Argentine beef. To survive, American ranchers who had bought steers low had to sell high, shutting themselves out of a suddenly glutted market. Shattered by his sudden change in fortune, in 1921, McWilliams's father died a broken man in the State Hospital for the Insane, leaving his family penniless. McWilliams lost his scholarship at the University of Denver after a bout of over-exuberant St. Patrick's Day revelry. The following year, with few prospects, he joined his mother and older brother in California. An able typist, McWilliams found a job in the business office of the *Los Angeles Times*, where he worked for seven years while earning first a bachelor's degree and then a law degree at the University of Southern California. In later life, he commented that this early defeat taught him "once and for all that social structures are transitory."[3]

When he had earned a law degree, in 1927 McWilliams joined the white-shoe firm of Black, Hammack & Black, where he practiced what increas-

ingly seemed to him a bland version of the law, servicing business interests and tending to the troubles of Los Angeles's moneyed elite. Though he married the bright, well-connected daughter of UCLA's provost, McWilliams hobnobbed with a group of self-described bohemians drawn to the cultural criticism of H.L. Mencken and the literary feats of the Lost Generation. In his spare time, he submitted book reviews and cultural critiques to *The Smart Set*, *American Mercury*, *The New Republic*, and *The Nation* and published a book about turn-of-the-century wit Ambrose Bierce.

By 1934, McWilliams had distanced himself from what he described as the "nice people" of the middle class. Following the gubernatorial campaign of Upton Sinclair, McWilliams found himself championing the poor, the disenfranchised: Californians suffering most from the effects of the Great Depression. At about this same time, he fell in love with Esther Blaisdell, an activist from Calexico whose family held deep sympathies with farm workers. Radicalized by politics and perhaps by love, McWilliams left his marriage and rapidly became known as an outspoken advocate of the poor, a lawyer and writer serious about using his energies to combat injustice, prejudice, and inequality.[4] Unlike other social and political critics who also documented America's literary and cultural trends in the twenties and thirties, McWilliams held a particularly Western perspective of events. It was in California, not New York, that one could best observe poverty, union struggles, and ethnic tensions. "California—particularly Southern California," he insisted, "was the place to be in the years from 1934 to 1939; in no other part of the country did so much happen so fast."[5]

Dropping the guise of disinterested, bohemian cultural critic, McWilliams immersed himself in politics. A mounting number of disgruntled workers were filing labor suits in southern California. The courts needed attorneys to try the cases. Despite his lack of experience in employment law, McWilliams took advantage of the trend and embarked on what he considered a decidedly more interesting legal career, representing unions and employees in civil court. In 1935, he accepted work as a trial examiner for the southern California branch of the National Labor Relations Board. When more than fifty thousand



Marching on the path marked by McWilliams but left untended for the most part until the 1960s, César Chávez (1927-1993) left a well-paying job in community service to commit the rest of his life to the fighting for the rights of California farm workers and other working people. Teaming up with labor organizer and community activist Dolores Huerta (b. 1930) they formed an independent union, the National Farm Workers Association (NFWA), forerunner of the United Farm Workers. Carrying a banner picturing the Virgin of Guadalupe, patroness of Mexico, strking grape pickers in 1969 completed a monumental march from Delano to Sacramento. *California Historical Society, FN—32678.*

McWilliams laments the implications as "The Farmers Get Tough"

That blissful liberal dream—a farm-labor alliance—has been violently dispelled by a recent outbreak of rural civil war in California. The alignment of forces in this conflict has left slight ground for the belief that the farmer is a potential ally, or even a friend, of labor. The most striking illustration of farmer-Fascism in California has been the revolt in Imperial Valley. For the Imperial Valley farmers have not protested: they have "revolted," in the Fascist sense. Community avowals and testimonials to the contrary, this great section of California has virtually seceded from the union.

To understand what has happened in Imperial Valley, one must be able to visualize the region: an enormous inner-valley sink, reclaimed from desert and converted into a huge truck garden. A considerable portion of the valley is below sea level. Its southern boundary extends along the Mexican border. On July 11 of this year the mercury touched 122° —a fair average for the summer months in the valley. The current water shortage is so acute that it is planned to ship 200,000 gallons of water daily into the region for domestic demands alone. Naturally enough, the early settlers (and most of them are still alive) who conquered this forbidding land have, over a period of years, feverishly exalted their rights and privileges. It is even quite easy to sympathize with their vehement localism. "We suffered the torments of hell," they say, "to make this region productive. Why, now, should we let a lot of outsiders dictate to us? We'll do what we damn please in the valley." And they have.

This strenuous country has no settled way of life. Social antagonisms stand forth, in sculptural simplicity, against a barren, harshly illuminated, background. Life is a hard business in the valley. Difficulties that might be appeased by the celebrated amenities of rural life elsewhere, break out as the clamor of class-warfare —ugly and tense—in Imperial Valley. Wealth has been wrung from the land at the price of unending, bitter conflict. Violence is what one somehow expects from the place.

Most of the valley's valuable crops, such as cantaloupes (over 35,000 acres), lettuce, peas (the current crop was valued at $300,000), are perishable. They must be harvested swiftly and marketed without interruption. Somewhat similar conditions throughout California have resulted in the creation of a floating army of "fruit tramps," inelegantly and indignantly described by the Los Angeles *Times* as "itinerant, ignorant, and irresponsible." Most of these workers have been, and are, recruited from Mexico. For years now the farmers of Imperial Valley have easily and profitably capitalized the seasonal character of their labor demands. When they needed pickers, the Mexicans were summoned across the line. After they had been used, they retreated into Mexico. In no small measure (and this is a circumstance usually overlooked by the impassioned farmers of the valley) Mexican labor— cheap, ever-available, plentiful—has made agriculture in the region both possible and profitable. Recently labor organizers have moved in on California agriculture, taking advantage of the perishable nature of its crops and the existence of an uprooted army of workers, and have sought to organize the fruit, vegetable, cotton, and cannery workers.

In the fall of 1933, San Joaquin Valley experienced a serious and violent strike during the cotton-picking season. This was followed by the recent efforts of the Cannery and Agricultural Workers Industrial Union, a militant organization with Communist leadership, to organize an effective strike in Imperial Valley during the harvest of the pea crop. The strike was violently suppressed; in fact, a state of civil war existed for about six months, nor has the terror entirely abated. The campaign of suppression launched by the farmers indicated careful planning. Its immediate objectives were twofold: an effective suppression of all constitutional rights; and, second, the organization of a smoothly functioning vigilante (i.e., Fascist) unit. If any one thinks that the farmers have not read the signs of the times with care, let him visit Imperial Valley.

The reign of terror began in January. Acting upon the advice of Capt. "Bill" Hynes of the Los Angeles Police Red Squad—"Clean 'em out first and then arbitrate"—the farmers opened the campaign by arresting eighty-six workers and jailing them for no offense other than attempting to organize a union. Field

meetings of workers throughout the valley were routed with the aid of clubs, guns, and tear gas bombs. On February 19 the strike was crushed when an armed force, composed of the sheriff, local police, State police, and vigilantes, "under instructions of the County Health Officer," cleaned out a desert camp of strikers. The shacks of the strikers were burned and over 2,000 men, women, and children were forcibly evicted. An attorney for the International Labor Defense was arrested, and told to get out of the valley when released and to quit defending arrested strikers. An attorney from Arizona was promptly arrested, on entering the valley, charged with vagrancy and held for thirty-five days in jail. On January 23 A.L. Wirin, an attorney, was kidnapped from a hotel in Brawley, California, beaten, and "escorted" to San Diego; his car was dumped over a bluff and ruined. Although Mr. Wirin was scheduled to speak at a meeting which had theoretically been sanctioned by an injunction issued by Judge Kerrigan in the United States District Court, Federal officials did nothing to investigate the kidnapping or the indirect violation of the injunction.

On February 18 a delegation of Southern California liberals was trailed through the valley by an armed caravan. On February 21 Miss Emma Cutler of the I.L.D. was convicted of vagrancy and sentenced to six months' imprisonment, although she had been in the valley only for a few hours prior to her arrest. Vigilantes tried to force a belligerent visiting minister to kneel on the desert sands and repent for his liberalism. The Rev. Beverley Oaten, a demure Y.M.C.A. secretary, was searched at the point of twenty-seven guns in front of his hotel. Police protection was refused every unidentified visitor to the valley. On March 15 Dorothy Rae and Stanley Hancock, union organizers, were sentenced to jail for six months, under a fancy ordinance making it unlawful for two people to stop and talk on a street when, in the opinion of the chief of police, they have no business to be talking. Bond in each case was set at $3,100; defense witnesses were arrested, intimidated, and then released.

An investigator for the American Civil Liberties Union, fleeing from a mob of several hundred people, had to seek refuge in the county jail. On March 28 Attorney Grover Johnson, after he had obtained the release of two strikers on writs of habeas corpus, was beaten by "vigilantes" in front of the county court house. The intimidation campaign worked without a hitch at the outset. But the farmers, having a hilarious time brandishing pistols at women and throwing tear gas bombs at children, forgot the Federal government.

The National Labor Board sent a commission, consisting of Professor J.L. Leonard, Simon J. Lubin, and Will J. French, into Imperial Valley. The Leonard Commission made some interesting findings. It found that constitutional rights were openly disregarded by law enforcement agencies within the valley; that workers had been indiscriminately arrested; that the right of free speech and free assemblage had been wholly suppressed; that excessive bail was demanded of arrested strikers; that the State vagrancy law had been prostituted; that firearms had been dangerously and unnecessarily displayed by valley officials; and that a Federal court injunction had been flouted in the local press. One of the commissioners in a subsequent speech observed: "They [the farmers] are paying less than a starvation wage. I have a tabulation of the pay checks of 204 pea pickers showing an average daily wage of 56¢. The earnings were somewhat larger at the peak of the harvest; but never were sufficient to satisfy even the most primitive needs." A reporter for the Illustrated *Daily News*, of Los Angeles, found that families of ten were making but $2.00 a day. . . .

Before the pea pickers had been on strike a week, the Imperial Valley Anti-Communist Association had been formed. The growers were assessed to sustain its activities. Its membership, in so far as the "good people" of the valley are concerned, is all-inclusive. So sharply are class lines drawn in the valley that the Anti-Communist Association takes on the superficial appearance of being the community, and the threat of the workers a blow at society itself. For the workers have never been regarded as a part of the community. With this organization functioning, the sheriff could go on a holiday. . . .

And, finally, it is amusing to detect the whiskers of the farmers protruding from behind the war-paint



Protesters outside a California vineyard. In 1965 NFWA farmworkers joined forces with the Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee (AWOC) to stage a strike against thirty-three grape growers in Kern County. The protest lasted into the summer of 1966, making great strides toward statewide unionization for farm workers throughout California. National attention resulted from the farm workers' march from Delano to the capitol in Sacramento; greater attention resulted from a nationwide consumer boycott of table grapes that lasted over four years. *California Historical Society.*

and head-dresses of California Indians. The Improved Order of Redmen issues militant anti-Communistic manifestoes, and the Old Glory Braves, a patriotic order formed "in the Santa Barbara mountains to fight Communism," is a Farmer-Fascist group.

To those who have watched the swift movement of recent events in California, it is apparent that the modern farmer is no friend of the laboring man. On the contrary, he is the best-organized enemy that the working man has to fight. Even by taking advantage of crop conditions, it has been extremely difficult to organize an effective strike of farm workers in California. But what is still more significant is this: the old-fashioned farmer has been supplanted by a type to which the term can no longer be applied with accuracy. The new farmer is a grower. He is only semi-rural. Often he regards his farm as a business and has it incorporated. He belongs to a number of wealthy produce exchanges; he is a director of several "protective associations." Moreover, he has a hand in State politics. He employs a book-keeper, and, in sober truth, he looks rather like a banker. He dabbles in publicity and has learned the trick of mob-baiting. He will never be an ally of labor.

—"The Farmers Get Tough," *American Mercury* 33 (October 1934): 241-45.



Son and namesake of the Progressive Wisconsin governor and senator, Robert M. "Fighting Bob" La Follette, Jr., (1895-1953) was elected to fill his deceased father's unexpired Senate term, and subsequently was reelected three more times. Here Robert, Jr., left, gets last minute instructions from his father before delivering his father's platform to the Conference for Progressive Political Action in Cleveland, Ohio, on July 4, 1924. A New Deal supporter, La Follette fils served in the Senate until 1947, having been defeated by Joseph McCarthy in the Wisconsin Republican primary. In the 1940s, concern over violence in California's agricultural industry led to Senate hearings chaired by La Follette, that investigated problems in California, with testimony from Carey McWilliams. The image appears in Nancy C. Unger, *Fighting Bob La Follette: The Righteous Reformer* (University of North Carolina Press, 2000). *Courtesy Library of Congress and Nancy Unger.*

farm workers initiated a rash of violent agricultural strikes that summer, McWilliams undertook a twelve-day road trip to learn what had sparked the trouble. His observations became the seed that would bear fruit in the form of a series of gripping articles and a book, *Factories in the Field*.[6]

Published in July 1939, *Factories in the Field* unintentionally followed closely on the heels of John Steinbeck's *Grapes of Wrath*. While *Grapes of Wrath* dramatized the plight of one Anglo Dust Bowl family (the Joads), *Factories* documented the economic and social trends which established huge land holdings in California and created a constant demand for cheap migrant labor. Using his keen powers of

McWilliams sheds "A Tear for José Davilla"

For some fifteen years several thousand Mexicans from San Antonio have trekked north to work in the sugar-beet fields and orchards of Michigan. When the work is done, the long procession of rattletrap jalopies makes its way back to Texas. Mexican workers have been a great boon to Michigan agriculture; yet at the end of the season they have, on occasion, been escorted out of the state by highway patrolmen or given a gentle but firm push by welfare workers along with a meager food supply and a few dollars toward the expense of the return trip. And almost every season has produced a "Mexican incident" of some sort, as, for example, the strike of Mexican beet workers in the Blissfield area a few years ago.

One of this season's "incidents," which occurred in Hart, Michigan, promises to become as notorious as the Blissfield strike. While working with his family in the cherry orchards of Oceana County, José Davilla, nineteen years of age, got to know Maxine English. They worked together, and on one occasion Davilla escorted the girl home from the county fair. A few days later, as a prank, he took the girl's glasses away from her. Sheriff Marland H. Littiebrant heard of this affront to white womanhood and set out to look for Davilla. He found him on the main street of Hart, just across from the county courthouse, and there, without a warrant, attempted to arrest him. The two fought in the street for more than half an hour. When the sheriff had failed to subdue the boy even with the aid of an eight-inch blackjack, he shot and killed him.

The Hart affair is altogether typical. In the course of their long seasonal junket Mexicans are forever being arrested. Seldom are their offenses serious. But highway patrolmen and local law-enforcement officials are quick to arrest Mexicans and never hesitate to use force. The news in the Davilla case is that Davilla resisted arrest and that the incident provoked local protest.

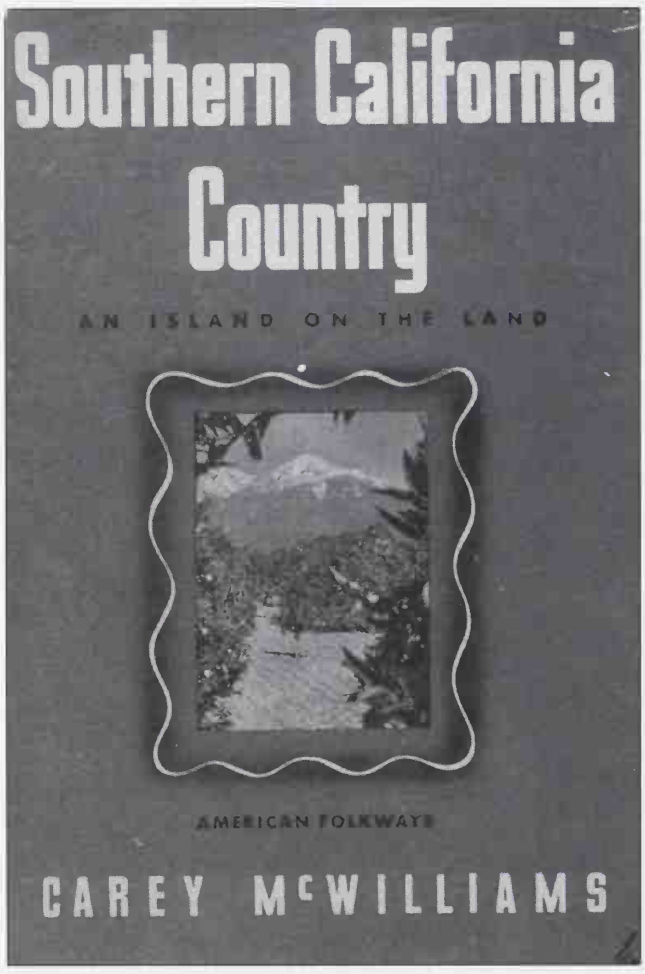
For no sooner had Davilla been killed than Swift Lathers, editor of the *Mears Newz*, "the world's smallest newspaper," came out with an editorial in which he denounced the killing as "murder." With equal promptness, the sheriff swore out a complaint charging Mr. Lathers with criminal libel. But Mr. Lathers is not a man to be easily intimidated. His arrest brought forth no apologies or disclaimers or retractions; on the contrary, he proceeded to write a series of editorials not only denouncing this particular high-handed action but calling attention to the many abuses from which migrant Mexican field workers have long suffered in Michigan.

Some of these editorials merit a wider audience. "Do I stand alone facing the sullen crowd?" he asks in a recent blast. "I have stood there before. I am that way. I would rather stand up against the whole world to defend the under-dog than sit on the plush chairs of the aggressors. I know that somewhere there is a tear for José Davilla. Short days ago he worked and sang among us, felt dawn and saw sunsets glow. A few more days and his lingering countrymen will go back to the border. But that pool of blood on the sidewalk of Hart will not wash away."

When a metropolitan newspaper leads a fight against municipal corruption or launches a campaign against the Klan, it stands a good chance of increasing its circulation and even of capturing a Pulitzer prize. But when the editor of the "world's smallest newspaper" takes on the sheriff of the county, offends the *mores* of the community by defending Mexican field workers, and gets himself arrested in the process, the chances of notice or reward are rather remote— about as remote as Hart, Michigan, from New York. We hear much criticism of the rural press for its backward and reactionary tone, but we seldom hear of the rural editors who occasionally speak out for truth and justice. The editor of the *Mears Newz*, who sports a vivid green shirt and a flamboyant red necktie, deserves national recognition for his courageous stand in this case. The Detroit *Free Press*, to its credit, has assigned a special staff writer to cover the Lathers trials.

The Mexican workers have long since departed for San Antonio, carrying with them, as a rather grim reminder of Sheriff Littiebrant's notion of the Good Neighbor policy, the body of José Davilla. But at least they know that one rural editor in Michigan, at the risk of his own liberty, has spoken out in their defense.

—"A Tear for José Davilla," *The Nation* 159 (December 2, 1944): 687.



By the time his *Southern California Country: An Island on the Land*, was published in 1946, McWilliams had lived in California for twenty-four years and was well on the road to earning the distinction of being both its most influential critic and admirer. Long acknowledged as a classic, the book is still in print, with the word "Country" having been dropped from its many re-issues. Not only is it considered the essential starting point for historians interested in southern California, it is also their favorite title on the subject for readers of every stripe. Overall, it is perhaps the best commentary on the remarkable set of advantages, disgraces, and myriad distinctions that are combined in the region. Dust jacket of the first edition of *Southern California Country*, American Folkways series, published in New York by Duell, Sloan, and Pearce, 1946, is shown here. *Courtesy of editorial staff.*

analysis, McWilliams concluded that the Okie "Exodusters" were only the most recent group to be exploited by absentee owners of California's first industry. Prèvious groups had included Native Americans and migrants from China, Japan, India, Armenia, Mexico, and the Philippines. Together, the two books enraged the Associated Farmers, the conservative growers' group that dominated California agriculture. The public's response to the books was so tremendous that growers were convinced Steinbeck and McWilliams had conspired to ruin agriculturalists' good names. On the contrary, the two writers never met and had not coordinated the release of their books in any way.[7]

Because he had published *Factories in the Field*, McWilliams stood out as a likely candidate for inclusion in the LaFollette (Senate) Committee, which late in 1939 and early in 1940 conducted public hearings up and down the coast to receive testimony from more than four hundred labor organizers, growers, and farm workers. McWilliams ghost wrote the committee's report, a stern indictment of California's agricultural factory system. The committee did not present its findings to Congress until October 1942. "By then," McWilliams wrote, "no one was listening and no one cared, for we were at war."[8] McWilliams believed that the overseas conflict enabled growers and state officials to avoid much-needed reform that they would otherwise have been forced to implement. The whole country, McWilliams concluded in retrospect, went to sleep until the Montgomery bus boycott of 1955.[9]

McWilliams, not surprisingly, did not go to sleep. Awakened for life to the noisy chaos of political, social, and economic injustices, McWilliams quickly published a series of books and articles documenting American ills. By 1949, the list of those books had grown to include *Ill Fares the Land* (a sequel to *Factories*), *Prejudice: Japanese Americans, Symbol of Racial Intolerance* (a chronicle of Japanese internment during World War II), *Brothers Under the Skin* (an exploration of racism in America), *Southern California Country: An Island on the Land* (a biting look at southern California culture), *A Mask for Privilege: Anti-Semitism in America* (an expansion of an article he wrote describing attitudes towards Jews in Minneapolis-St. Paul), *California: The Great Exception* (a

McWilliams observes "Anti-Americanism Updated"

The anti-American riots of May13 in Algiers, Caracas and Beirut could mark a turning point in United States policy. It is too early to assess their full impact on American public opinion, but the initial reactions reveal a new sophistication and maturity. Right, left and center, there is agreement that these latest manifestations of anti-American feeling cannot be solely or even primarily attributed to the Communists, even though everyone assumes that they were active in them. Whatever he is, Nasser is not a Communist; nor were the French rioters in Algiers Communists; nor does anyone, with the possible exception of J. Edgar Hoover, believe that the disturbances in Lima and Caracas can be written off as Communist-inspired.

At the same time, public opinion has not veered toward isolationism. Grass-roots reports indicate that the shadow of sputnik has convinced most people that "fortress America" is a mirage. Nor has the public jumped to the conclusion that the answer to anti-Americanism is to be found in more guns and better propaganda, a tough line and more dollars.

Nor is the public impressed by the suggestion, advanced by the Director of USIA and others, that since "we're the biggest and strongest," we must, like the British in the days of Palmerston, learn to accept abuse. The public may not know what is wrong with the analogy, but it is quite aware that nuclear weapons, by severely limiting the exercise of force, have created the need for a new diplomacy. Nor does the "biggest and strongest" theory square with our experience. Even when we were stronger, relatively speaking, than we are today, American dignitaries were not spat upon when they visited our "sister" republics to the South. The warmth of the receptions accorded Roosevelt and Wallace in these same republics has not been forgotten. . . .

Events are always more persuasive than exhortations, as the reaction to the May 13 riots indicates. But must people spit in our faces before we tumble to the fact that "something is wrong" with our policies?

—"Anti-Americanism Updated," *The Nation* 186 (May 31, 1958): 488-89.

radical interpretation of California's history), and *North From Mexico: The Spanish-Speaking People of the United States* (the first comprehensive history of Mexican Americans). Shortly after the publication of the last in this river of books, in 1951, McWilliams accepted Freda Kerchway's offer to serve as managing editor of *The Nation*. This took place when Kerchway, *The Nation's* sitting editor, recruited McWilliams as a West Coast correspondent and lured him to New York for what was supposed to have been a brief sojourn as he assembled a special civil rights issue for the magazine. What was to be a temporary arrangement turned into a twenty-five-year institution.

McWilliams's last book before he became editor-in-chief at *The Nation* was *Witch-Hunt: The Revival of Heresy*. Released just as Joseph McCarthy began his campaign to smoke out supposed Communists, *Witch-Hunt* was McWilliams's exploration of Americans' fear of the Soviet Union. He did not write another book until 1979, when he published his autobiography, *The Education of Carey McWilliams*. During the intervening years, McWilliams led *The Nation* on an unswerving crusade against McCarthyism and the federal government's Cold War policies. Ever unwilling to accept the necessity of red-baiting or blacklisting, McWilliams steadfastly defended Americans' rights to choose their own political affiliations. He died in June 1980, barely a year after the publication of his autobiography, and just five years after the conclusion of his twenty-five-year stint at *The Nation*.

How best to introduce students, history aficionados, and others interested in the course of Ameri-

can intellectual thought to McWilliams's remarkable life and work? What follows are three suggestions.

First, teachers and students should use McWilliams as a corrective in relationship to the "New Western History." Too often, I think, there is a parthenogenic quality to Western History written in the last quarter of the twentieth century.[10] Scholars identify the works of William Cronon, Ramón Gutiérrez, Patricia Nelson Limerick, Richard White, Donald Worster, and others as "revolutionary."[11] Without a doubt, their works reconfigured and revived the field of "Western History," changing the ways subsequent researchers have framed questions and professors have trained graduate students. That said, the much-deserved praise heaped on these works has sometimes produced a thick fog that has obscured the brilliance of forerunners, including Carey McWilliams.[12] In addition to introducing students to classics such as *North from Mexico*, *Factories in the Field*, and *California: The Great Exception*, we can encourage the reading of shorter works, essays such as "Myths of the West," published in *North American Review* in 1931. There, McWilliams brilliantly anticipated Richard Slotkin, Limerick, and White, asking how best to "dispose of the outlandish Myth." "It was the unknown and unpredictable character of the land that fostered the Myth," McWilliams wrote. "The East was diligently suckled on fabulous Government reports, the swollen and embellished narratives of mendacious travelers, and the pamphlets of such saga writers as Hall J. Kelley, James O. Pattie, and John B. Wyeth."[13] Those teaching Western history might also decide to include "Look What's Happened to California," McWilliams's 1949 essay in *Harper's Magazine* that dealt with California's explosive postwar population growth.[14]

By routinely including McWilliams's essays and books in our syllabi, we give students a better sense of the way ideas developed. We enable them to see that the "New Western History" is new in some ways, old in others. Challenging the accepted order of things isn't something that started in the 1960s. We can trace a tradition of Western activism and questioning back to McWilliams, and before him, among others, to Mary Austin, Charles Fletcher Lummis, Big Bill Hayward, Mother Jones, John Wesley Powell, Helen Hunt Jackson, and perhaps even to nineteenth-century public servants, reformers, and anti-removalists such as Jeremiah Evarts, Samuel Worcester, and Theodore Freylinghausen.[15]

The second way we can impart the value of McWilliams is by inserting his work in courses designed to introduce students to major trends in twentieth-century American thought. I've had some luck convincing colleagues who teach intellectual history to include McWilliams in their syllabi. "Hmmmmm," they often say, initially. If they know who he was, they generally ask, "How does he fit?" I reply that by teaching McWilliams, professors refine students' appreciation of American "radicalism." His works help answer questions such as: What's a "liberal?" A "lefty?" A "conservative?" A "centrist?" How is a "radical" different from any of these?

McWillliams's son has written that the family's sudden reversal of fortunes in Depression-era Colorado taught McWilliams that "with equal dignity, other inequalities may not be galling, just as without it, even material equality is likely to seem hollow." At a formative age, McWilliams learned that no one social system would guarantee human happiness or satisfaction. Inoculating him for life against Marxism, these early experiences convinced him that no government would benefit "the masses" unless it paid heed to the universal human need for recognition.[16] McWilliams credited his own "curiosity," rather than "ideological commitment" for his involvement in labor politics and journalism. "I was interested in Marxism in the 1930s—as who wasn't? —but I never succeeded in mastering the sacred texts."[17]

In the remarks he gave at McWilliams's memorial service, journalist and long-time contributor to *The Nation* Robert Sherrill identified McWilliams as a "rebel radical idealist" and "the spokesman for all outsiders."[18] Never an enthusiastic member of any existing political order – be it Communist, Democrat, or other—McWilliams sustained a lifelong critical stance, one that self-consciously put him in the good company of Ambrose Bierce, H. L. Mencken, F. O. Mathiessen, and Upton Sinclair. McWilliams defined his brand of radicalism as "the ability to step outside of society, and from its far edges describe it

McWilliams dissects the "Myths of the West"

. . . No sooner were the boundaries of the region established and its topography verified, than the heroes of its conquest passed into the realm of mythology. Through its mountain valleys and across its interminable plains stalked the tall figures of Davy Crockett, Kit Carson, Marcus Whitman, Billy the Kid, Wild Bill Hickok, Jim Bridger, and John Sutter.

Carried East by excited tongues, these legends were greatly embroidered in the telling. The existence of an oral epic of the West is demonstrated by the amazing collection of books and pamphlets that serves today as a monument to the westward movement. It was the unknown and unpredictable character of the land that fostered the Myth. The East was diligently suckled on fabulous government reports, the swollen and embellished narratives of mendacious travelers, and the pamphlets of such saga writers as Hall J. Kelley, James O. Pattie, and John B. Wyeth. These men pictured the Far West in hues of the rainbow and the peacock. . . .

Not a year has passed since 1900 in which the West has escaped rediscovery. The legend, quickly soaring into the realm of myth, has been retold year after year. The persistence of the process of rediscovery can be illustrated variously. . . .

While the Myth was being precipitated in the fancies of the early pamphleteers, it was quite common to find the region beyond the Alleghenies designated as the West. But "West" in the popular imagination soon began to assume a symbolic connotation; it came to mean frontier. And so the West retreated to the Rockies as the Middle West crowded the frontier westward. When the Sierra Nevadas were crossed (sic) and California admitted in 1849, the tide of expansion began to roll back upon itself. As the frontier disappeared like a mirage on the desert and the mist of early speculation and fancy cleared, it was soon discovered that there were many Wests within the West. Even the most enthusiastic Westerners conceded the existence of these inner regions. In fact the first act of the Far West on becoming self-conscious was to repudiate the legend of its inclusiveness. Since 1849 writers on the West have excluded California by instinct and popular demand. It was not long before the Southwest and the Northwest broke away like islands in midstream. These regions were not only markedly dissimilar climatically and topographically: they possessed different traditions and mythologies. . . .

But the legend could not be so easily dislodged. The geographical boundaries of the Far West, based on State lines, have always been hard to draw; hence the notion got abroad that ethical, rather than geographical considerations, marked the kingdom of the West. By the use of this fiction it was possible to keep the boundaries of the West elastic and the mists of legend could still breed in the dark. And so it was suggested that the West was a matter of mood and manner. Cheyenne, for instance, was "spiritually West," while North Platte belonged to the Middle West. Wherever one found informality, unconventionality, a firm handclasp, an open door, a breezy rhetoric, and unrestrained manner, there was the West. The idea is, of course, merely a survival of the early legend. . . .

It is probably quite true that when culture moves, it changes; it may also be conceded that the "subliminal influences" of the land mold thought and character. But to define region from character, rather than character from region, is a dangerous expedient. What qualities were Western? . . .

In cold fact it would be quite possible to demonstrate that a great deal of Western spirit, so-called, has been made up of mimicry and imitation. Legend reacts on its subject. My father had no end of difficulty, as a pioneer cattleman in northwestern Colorado, in keeping his cowboys from playing the rôle of Cowboy. They spent long hours in the bunkhouse on dull days devouring cheap romances of the West and insisted on dressing and acting and talking like the characters in their favorite romances. Many of their "pranks" were, I am sure, of purely literary origin.

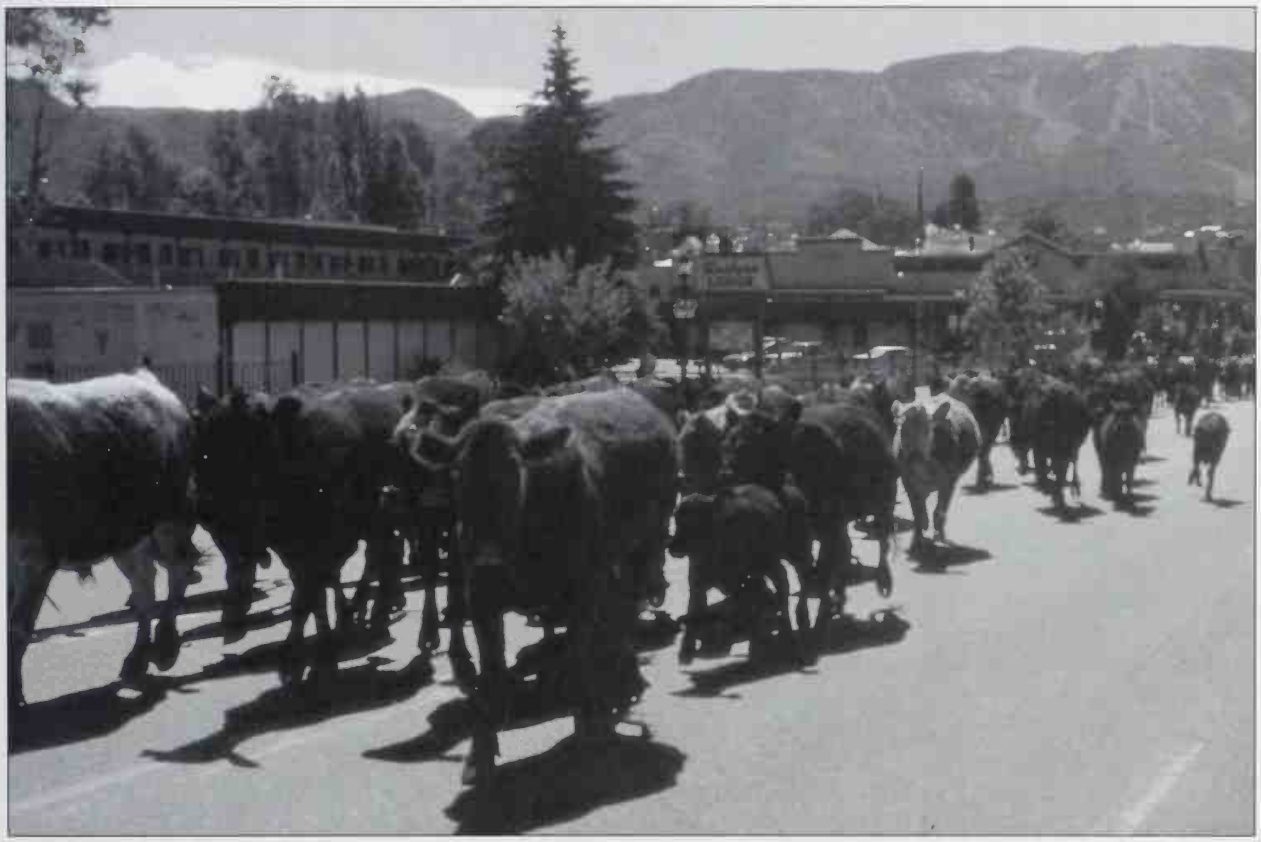
When the Intermountain West is examined from this [regionalist] point of view it does assume a recognizable character. Its agriculture, at least so far as methods are concerned, is indigenous. It is a region made up of desert and mountain and valley. Its aridity, together with its vast extent of mountain area, would alone be sufficient to characterize it as a region. Moreover its social problems, notably in the development of its fabulously wealthy resources, are common to the region. . . . Western resources have been ruthlessly exploited by Eastern capital; it is only of comparatively late date that sensible development, with reference to local needs, has been evolved. The era of industrial buccaneering retarded the development of the West; in fact, stunted its growth to a very serious extent during the period when the West was supposed to be most progressive. . . .

On July 12th, 1893, Professor Frederick Jackson Turner called attention to the fact that the Superintendent of the Census had announced that there was no more free land. The significance with which Professor Turner endowed this innocent statement was slow in making itself felt. But suddenly, with the swiftness of an apocryphal revelation, word went round the college campuses that there was "no more free land" and, as a corollary, that "the frontier has disappeared." From that moment to the present day funereal laments have arisen over the demise of the frontier. Historical writing on the West since 1900 has been given over to the composition of obsequies on the frontier. This dolorous mood has resulted in an enormous and incredible renascence of the Western Myth. To the monumental record of the pioneer jamboree must now be added the post mortem on the frontier that has been going on since 1900. It has been, for the most part, a literature of rediscovery and, while one might condone the errors of original research, it is hard to forgive those elaborate and unnecessary obfuscations of the rediscoverer, who sits in a swivel chair and enjoys the vicarious thrill of being an imaginary frontiersman.

Out of this misty and mythological mood first given popular currency by Emerson Hough has been born an inordinate modern day enthusiasm for the frontier and the frontiersman. It is an amazing record. One can only nibble at it piecemeal. It gives promise of exceeding in bulk the already hefty literature of Western Americana. The writing, academic and otherwise, on the Cowboy, as a gaudy species of the genus Frontiersman, would fill a library. If the first writing about the West was characterized by bombast and extravagant good will, and if the middle period began with a child-like pride in its roughness followed by timid gestures at gentility, then this modern movement may be described as a highly self-conscious discovery of the fact that one need no longer be ashamed of being born in a sod hut; nay, that having been born in such a habitation is a mark of peculiarly resplendent distinction. It represents, in a word, the belated triumph of the uncouth transmogrified in a more complex age as the quaint

Still other historians, determined to add one more layer of Myth to the legend of the West, have suggested that when the frontier disappeared to the naked eye it seeped inward and survives today as a subjective force which tugs fiercely at our heart strings whenever we see a pair of chaps or an old stage coach. Dr. Roger E. Riegel in *America Moves West* (1930) advances the theory that it is "possible to view the westward movement as a search for mental and spiritual values as much as an endeavor to seek economic opportunity." He also hints that perhaps the frontier spirit survives today in the movie daring of Tom Mix and Douglas Fairbanks, that perhaps it hovers above and around all of us like a disembodied spirit murmuring strange incantations. In fact the influence of the frontier has been traced on every possible phase of American life, if an exception may be made of the influence of the frontier on American historians.

—"Myths of the West," *North American Review* 232 (November 1931): 424-32.



McWilliams grew up in Steamboat Springs, in northwest Colorado. In the decades after McWilliams moved away to southern California, mining, ranching, and farming in Colorado yielded to make room for tourism as a major industry. "Western Days" celebrations, rodeos, and cattle drives such as the contemporary round-up shown here, draw thousands of visitors annually. In his essay "Myths of the West" McWilliams noted Everyman's love of "playing" cowboy—even the cowboys themselves. *Courtesy Steamboat Springs Chamber Resort Association.*

more clearly than can those too caught up in day-to-day politics and boosterism."[19]

What, specifically, of McWilliams might intellectual historians present to their students? McWilliams, himself, reflected in *The Nation*'s one hundredth anniversary issue on trends he could identify in his body of work. "Somewhat in the order of their emergence, my special interests have been: organized labor and civil liberties, migratory farm labor, race relations, demagogic mass movement and, of course, all things relating to California, its history, sociology, folkways, cults, population dynamics and politics— not to mention its coast line, mountain ranges, desert areas and lush valleys."[20] In addition to these general areas, many of McWilliams's short pieces focus on hot-button issues of their time. Want to get students thinking about the ways Americans addressed Japanese internment, the bomb, Jim Crow, migrant workers, organized labor, McCarthyism, *Brown v. Board of Education*, the Cold War, or Richard Nixon? Call on Carey McWilliams.

When I have tried to talk to students who have mostly come of age in a post-Reagan world, they

McWilliams asks, "What Does America Fear? Is It the Nameless Name of Fear Itself?"

The America of 1948, the most powerful nation in the world, is caught in a paroxysm of fear. For more than a decade, paradoxically, as our fabulous productive capacity has jumped by approximately 50 per cent, the tides of our fear have risen. The irony is even more deeply sensed when one recognizes the pathetic fact that *we cannot identify what it is that we fear.*

America, the colossus of the modern world, trembles at the threat of shadowy ideas that cannot be defined. There is a warning in this for it is only nameless fears that breed panic and disaster. . . .

Like other citizens, I am concerned about the military security of the United States; but what concerns me most is this psychosis of fear. Security has become an obsession; but security from what? for what? by what means?

I fear our fear more than I fear any enemies known or suspected.

But I, too, will confess to fear. On the west coast, where I live, I hear everyday about mysterious "projects" in the community, carefully guarded, not-to-be mentioned, where dreadful researches are in progress. Not even the top officials in charge of these projects seems to know the ramifications of their researches.

Recently a friend of mine, a book-dealer, attempted to deliver some scientific treatises which had been ordered by the library of the California Institute of Technology. To his astonishment, he discovered that this center of scientific research is nowadays guarded like a prison.

He also reports that the Cal Tech scientists have a feeling that they are in fact prisoners, working on projects the control of which is vested in persons they have never seen, fashioning processes which will be used for purposes to which they would never give their approval.

The knowledge that such projects exist, coupled with the appalling silence which envelops them, makes for a community atmosphere not only tense with fear but heavy with foreboding.

A fear that cannot be defined is a fear that can never be mastered. What precisely is it that we fear today? The headlines answer: "Russia," "Communism," "Red Fascism." But, if it were Russia that we really feared, would our leaders be setting group against group and raising, with reckless disregard of the consequences, doubts and suspicions about the "patriotism" and "loyalty" of their fellow citizens?

A good case can be made for the proposition that, if Russia and Communism did not exist, we would have to invent their counter parts to appease our need for both an "external" and an "internal" enemy.

—"What does America Fear? Is It the Nameless Name of Fear Itself?" *United Nations World* 2 (May 1948): 31-33.

have had an extremely difficult time talking openly about America's role in shaping and ending the Cold War. Students of a somewhat conservative bent want to simplify matters by crediting Ronald Reagan and the Republicans with the fall of the Berlin Wall and the disintegration of the Iron Curtain. They have a hard time transporting themselves back to a time or place in which communism and radical socialism held some appeal. I've given them several of McWilliams's pieces, including "What Does America Fear? Is it the Nameless Name of Fear Itself?" and his prescient "Germany and the East: The Outmoded Wall."[21] Pieces such as these have invariably helped push classroom discussion to a more sophisticated, nuanced level.

Want them to think about the place of ideas in

McWilliams nails down "Finding a Home for Ideas"

The approaching end of another year is an appropriate time to draw back from the rush of events and assess where we stand. In doing so, I am struck by this inarguable fact: Rapid social and technological change, unchecked by criticism and traditional restraint, is impinging on the elusive process by which ideas are conceived, articulated, disseminated and, with luck, made part of the general culture.

This blockage in the flow of ideas should cause grave concern about the future course of our society, whose life blood is that flow.

Let me confess that I cannot offer a good working definition of an idea in the sense that I use the term. In my view, an opinion bears about the same relation to an idea that facts do to the truth or that information does to knowledge. Opinions are a dime a dozen.

If a person states that he or she is opposed to capital punishment, you can score one vote to that effect, and in a sense it is important to know how many people oppose or favor capital punishment. But however often or violently opinions are stated, they remain just that – opinions. An opinion is an opinion is an opinion; there is no life in it; it is neither very interesting nor important per se. It does not advance the dialogue. A stock response to most expressions of opinion is: "So what?" It is as though one person said: "I like tomatoes better than carrots" and the other said, "I like carrots better than tomatoes." There is not much you can do with an exchange of that kind.

But an idea is different. It has a life of its own. Ideas can lie dormant for years and then suddenly explode with surprising force. Ideas can travel great distances. They can leap over language barriers and penetrate alien cultures. Ideas have an inherent interest. They are often beautiful. There is a symmetry about them that opinions lack. And they are creative in the sense that they can combine with other ideas, or modify them, or lead to still more novel ideas. Ideas keep an intellectual tradition alive, viable, and relevant; they are the yeast of a culture.

Opinions, facts, and information are not to be scorned; they have their uses; indeed, they are indispensable. But ideas, truth, and knowledge are more important. It may seem far-fetched to say that they are more important today than ever before—for ideas, truth and knowledge have always been important—but there is more than a grain of sense in the suggestion. For today we live in an extraordinary time in which landmarks that long provided guidance have been obliterated before their replacements, if any, have been identified. Today we act at times as though we did not think either the past or the future were important.

If I cannot define an idea—and I can't—I can at least cite a few examples of what I mean. When Paul Valery wrote: "Do what you think, otherwise you will think what you do," he was expressing an idea. Herman Melville was voicing a variant of the same idea when he wrote: "In our hearts we mold the whole world's hereafter and in our hearts we fashion our own gods . . . we are precisely what we worship." When Charles de Gaulle cautioned that "one must not insult the future," he voiced an idea with many meanings and implications. When we encounter such statements we know that we are in the presence of ideas, not opinions, facts or information.

Just as I cannot define an idea, so I find the process by which ideas are conceived to be quite mysterious. One may struggle with a mass of data for a long time without being able to make any sense of it and then wake up, some morning, with an idea that illuminates, clarifies, and gives coherence to what was previously a chaos of unrelated facts and information.

If the process by which ideas are conceived remains elusive, something can be said about the conditions which further their expression. Ideas must struggle to be born. They must find expression so that they can be studied, distributed, criticized, assimilated, rejected or modified. Often a new idea emerges in a half-baked form; only later is it refined, restated and made properly presentable. The process takes time. It may not take nine months but there are few instant conceptions. . . .

—"Finding a Home for Ideas," *Current* 170 (February 1975): 19-26.

American culture? Give them "Finding a Home for Ideas."[22] How better to get students talking about if and why ideas matter than to serve up the following: "... [A]n idea is different. It has a life of its own. Ideas can lie dormant for years and then suddenly explode with surprising force. Ideas can travel great distances. They can leap over language barriers and penetrate alien cultures. Ideas have an inherent interest. They are often beautiful. There is a symmetry about them that opinions lack. And they are creative in the sense that they can combine with other ideas, or modify them, or lead to still more novel ideas. Ideas keep an intellectual tradition alive, viable, and relevant; they are the yeast of a culture."[23] By assigning McWilliams, those teaching courses in American intellectual history will reliably get their students thinking both about specific trends in American politics and about the place they may give ideas in their lives, in general.

A third important reason to teach McWilliams is to provide students interested in journalism and communications a great service by acquainting them with the life and work of Carey McWilliams. This means teaching students *about* McWilliams as well as asking them to read what he wrote; showing them, by example, *how* to edit, as well as teaching them about his important, largely unsung role in the development of twentieth-century journalism.

Future reporters would do well to note that as editor for nearly thirty years of an admittedly small-circulation magazine, *The Nation*, McWilliams grew an impressive and influential stable of cutting-edge

McWilliams puts perspective on the "Spectrum of Segregation"

Over a period of years, we—or a majority of us— have assumed that racial minorities should be given an opportunity to improve their living, working, and social conditions—through what we generally speak of as "education." But we have steadfastly insisted that these improvements must necessarily take place within the framework of a biracial or segregated social structure.

Too often we think of this policy as being applicable only to Negroes. Actually it has been applied to all non-Caucasian groups, with minor variations —North and South, East and West.

While the policy is obviously self-defeating and unworkable (educational improvements necessarily undermine the structure of segregation), we continue to adhere to it, in part because we fail to recognize its national implications. We do not see it as a national policy, stemming from definite acts and omissions on the part of the federal government.

To pose the policy in proper perspective, this question should be asked: what should be the policy of a federal government toward racial minorities in a multi-racial, multi-ethnic republic?

It should be obvious that the very nature and composition of such a state imposes upon government an affirmative obligation to protect the civil rights of racial minorities and to insure to them the full and equal protection of the law. While government cannot coerce understanding or cheerful acceptance, it can protect groups against violence, against systematic discrimination, and against segregation.

Yet an honest evaluation shows that, throughout most of American history, our government not only has failed to discharge this basic obligation, but has actually placed the stamp of its positive approval upon the principle and practice of segregation.

Broadly speaking, the question of racial minorities, in its modern form, did not arise in America until after the Civil War. It was only in the post Civil War period (around 1876) that the outlines of our present dual policy began to emerge. . . .—"Spectrum of Segregation," *Survey Graphic* 36 (January 1947): 22-25, 106-107.

McWilliams pinpoints "The Climax of an Era"

The Supreme Court's unanimous decision outlawing segregation in American public education has won national approval as nearly unanimous as any such verdict is ever likely to do. If anything, world opinion was even more emphatic. Even the Communist powers, we suspect, must privately have applauded the decision. In Kenya a spokesman for the Luo tribe voiced the growing world-wide sentiment against all forms of racial discrimination when he said: "America is right. . . . If we are not educated together, we will live in fear of one another. If we are to stay together forever, why should we have separate schools?" Quite apart from this sentiment, the decision was especially welcome at this time since it enabled us and our friends abroad for the first time in some years to be equally and simultaneously enthusiastic about an important announcement from Washington. The decision was a fine antidote to the blight of McCarthyism and kindred fevers.

The dead no less than the living must have rejoiced. Among the ghosts that smiled with pleasure— it is somehow easier to imagine them smiling than cheering—were Homer Adolph Plessy, the one-eighth-Negro plaintiff in *Plessy vs. Ferguson*, in which the iniquitous "separate but equal" doctrine was first announced, and his counsel, Albion Winegar Tourgée—who is better known, perhaps, for his novels about the Reconstruction period. Another beaming ghost would be Justice John Marshall Harlan whose great dissents in this and the Civil Rights Cases have at long last been fully vindicated.

Not every ghost smiled we may be sure. Glum and dour must have been the ghost of the late Senator Theodore G. Bilbo, but in this case, happily, there was compensation. For only a week or so before the Supreme Court's decision a life-size bronze statue of the Senator was unveiled in the Mississippi Capitol. "His imperfections were infinitesimal," said Mississippi's Secretary of State in unveiling the statue, "when compared to the magnitude of his contributions to mankind."

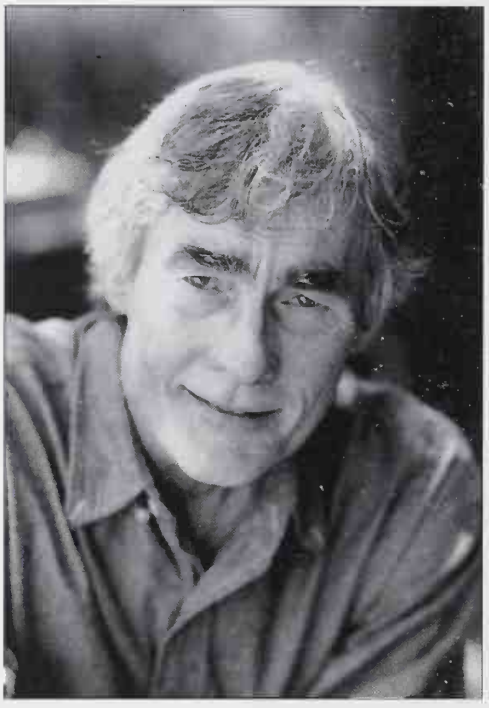
Jubilation over the belated legal demise of Jim Crow in the public schools should not be permitted to obscure the fact that an enormous expenditure of energy and funds will be required to implement the court's decision. The timely recommendation of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor that Congress set up a billion-dollar fund to help the South build new schools is an indication that the struggle for equal educational facilities has now shifted from the courts to the legislature. Then, too, means must be found to relieve the enormous social and economic pressures that hem Negroes in residential ghettoes before a significant degree of integration can take place in the schools, North or South.

Nor should we delude ourselves with the pleasant assumption that with one Supreme Court decision the United States can overcome a fairly widespread reputation for racial arrogance. Rather, the reception which has been accorded the court's decision should be taken as a guide to policy. For it demonstrates once again the measure of unity and confidence and pride that can be aroused whenever unqualified expression is given to the individual and social values to be found in the Constitution and the Bill of Rights. Fortunately we continue to redeem, often after costly delays and protestations, the promises to which we are committed by history and tradition and, we can now add, by current conviction. Alexander Meiklejohn has observed that "there has come over us, in recent years, a vivid sense of having been disloyal to our own purposes. In many ways we are obsessed by the fear of having betrayed ourselves." The way to exorcise this fear, which has enfeebled and humiliated the nation, is to give expression to the values we say we respect. This the Supreme Court has done, and in doing so has won nearly universal admiration. . . .

—"The Climax of an Era," *The Nation* 178:22 (May 29, 1954): 453–455.

political journalists. He gave starts to Carleton Beals, Jacob Bronowski, Fred Cook, Bernard Fall, H. Stuart Hughes, Gabriel Kolko, Christopher Lasch, Ralph Nader, Theodore Roszak, Robert Sherrill, Harvey Swados, and Hunter S. Thompson, among others.[24] The magazine, writers say, was important to them not because it reached a huge audience, but because other editors read it to shape their own opinions. If you wrote for *The Nation*, they say, you had a great clip that would get you work at high-priced, big-circulation publications, such as *Playboy* or *The New York Times Magazine*.[25]

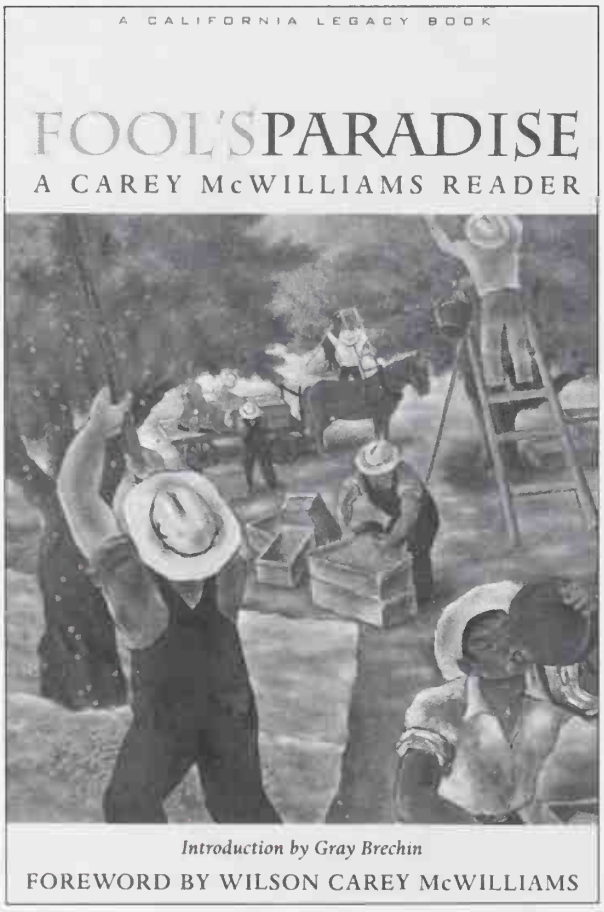
In his autobiography and in speaking with colleagues, McWilliams described himself as an editor, not as a writer or a historian. I think many would energetically disagree with him. At the same time, it's worth trying to understand what McWilliams meant when he said this. I've talked with and interviewed writers who worked for McWilliams at *The Nation*, and to a one, they reverently recall McWilliams's clipping system and his ability to shape stories as he assigned them, anticipating difficulties before they had a chance to arise. "Carey was a clipping fiend," Robert Sherrill told me. "He clipped papers from all over the place. When he wanted you to do a piece, you would get through the mail a bunch of clippings to fill your own room. He did so much of your research and legwork that way."[26] Victor Navasky, *The Nation*'s current publisher, elaborated. "Even if you'd never met, you'd go to your mailbox, and you'd get a folder or an envelope filled with, say, clips on Neo Nazis from all over the country. These would be personally clipped. . . . Carey had this quality of editing in advance. In effect, you talked through what the story would be rather than editing with a blue pencil." When *The Nation* dedicated a special issue to McWilliams, Bob Hatch wrote a piece he called "The Man with the Scissors." Given the ease with which we can now gather information on the internet, this approach may seem a bit anachronistic. Tell a reporter to get online and do a Google search; who needs a man with scissors? The bigger lesson, I think, is in the way McWilliams offered writers stories and made sure they had seen and heard what he'd seen and heard. Most important of all was his intellectual curiosity and selflessness.



American intellectual and political writers launched by editor McWilliams at *The Nation* include cultural historian Theodore Roszak (b. 1933), currently a member of the emeritus teaching faculty at California State University, Hayward. A graduate of UCLA and Princeton University, Roszak began writing for *The Nation* during the 1960s. His assignment to write a series on American youth in the sixties became his acclaimed book, *The Making of a Counter Culture* (1969), in which he coined that term and also "technocracy." Roszak has continued to probe cultural institutions in works of fiction and nonfiction, and twice has been a National Book Award nominee. His recent writing examines such topics as the destruction and healing of the environment and the psyche (*The Voice of the Earth*, 1992), technology and modern life (*Where the Wasteland Ends*, 1989), (*The Cult of Information*, 1994), and aging and retirement of the baby boomers (*America the Wise*, 1998). *Courtesy of Theodore Roszak, photograph by Linda Cicero.*



A 1924 C. H. Sykes political cartoon, which first appeared in the *Philadelphia Evening Public Ledger* a year before Robert La Follette's death, characterized a new era of U.S. prosperity and along with it, evaporation of the "river of discontent" from which the lifelong reformer had endlessly pulled his causes. As Rutgers University political scientist W. Carey McWilliams wrote of his own namesake father, "[F]or every old battle won, he found two new ones worth fighting." As much was said of La Follette père in the cartoon, and the same could be said of "Fighting Bob" as well. Charles Henry "Bill" Sykes, "Gone Dry," reprinted in "Future of the La Follette Party," *Literary Digest* 83 (Nov. 15, 1924). *Courtesy of Nancy C. Unger.*



Resurging interest in the life and writings of Carey McWilliams has led to a number of recent new publications, including *Fool's Paradise: A Carey McWilliams Reader*, a collection of his writings that demonstrates his relevance for our time. *Courtesy Santa Clara University and Heyday Books.*

Victor Navasky explained that McWilliams was an editor's editor precisely because of this generosity of spirit: "He subordinated his own ego to that of his writers. He stayed in the background. He was *not* a commanding national figure." Because McWilliams was reluctant to seek the limelight, he wasn't and isn't as well known today as someone such as, say, I. F. Stone. That doesn't mean we shouldn't make sure students know about and appreciate his life and work. "He was never honored because he was so self-effacing," Navasky told me. "He was genuinely gracious, unaggressive in his presentation of [*The Nation*] and his handling of it. He was subjected to the smears of the time. He was not Lillian Hellman. He was so unspectacular and out of sight."[27]

Let us praise Carey McWilliams's spectacular unspectacularity. Who among us can imagine such a tribute to, say, Tina Brown? Who among us would hesitate before bringing McWilliams into the classroom, let alone into our collective line of sight? CHS

See notes beginning on page 242.

Catherine A. Corman, Assistant Professor of History at Harvard University, is a social and cultural historian focusing mainly on early America. She first fell in love with the writing of Carey McWilliams when, as an undergraduate at Pomona College, she spent a summer working on an organic farm outside of Davis, California.

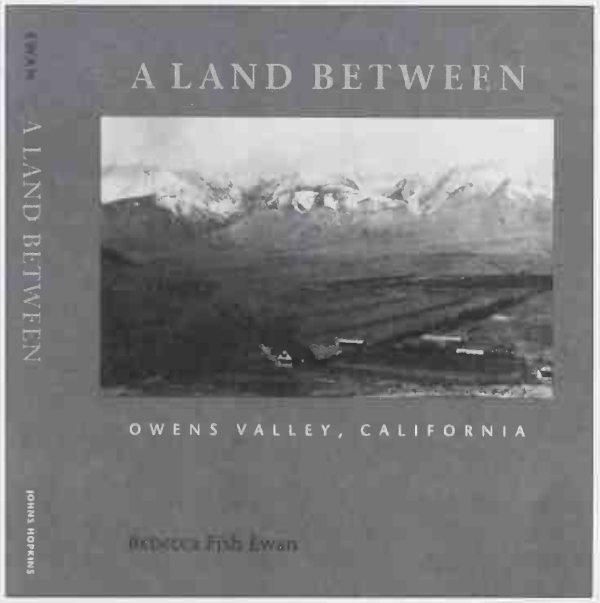
REVIEWS

Edited by James J. Rawls

A Land Between: Owens Valley, California.

By Rebecca Fish Ewan. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000, xix, 221 pp., $55 cloth, $22.50 paper.)

Reviewed by Genny Smith, *publisher of Genny Smith Books, and editor and co-author of* Sierra East: Edge of the Great Basin *and seven other books on the eastern Sierra.*



Courtesy Johns Hopkins University Press.

Where is Owens Valley? So far east of coastal California, near the Nevada border and northwest of renowned Death Valley, that even today many Californians know nothing of it. The 90-mile-long valley is flanked by two magnificent mountain ranges, the Sierra Nevada and the White-Inyo, whose highest peaks rise 10,000 feet above the valley floor.

In an unusual approach to history, this original study interprets the landscape history of Owens Valley by exploring the strong bonds between the place and its peoples. Rebecca Ewan's affection for this land led her to ponder the idea of how a place and the waves of humans who crash into it at various times connect with and impact each other. Around this theme, against a background of the valley's natural environments, she weaves strands of the valley's human occupations. She views history as a tapestry made by centuries of human wandering and settlement, a tapestry woven from stories, memories (written and photographic), perceptions, and markings on the land. The tapestry encompasses the Valley's entire human history, "a series of upheavals," from the Numu (Owens Valley Paiutes) who occupied the valley before the first white men appeared to the present day. Her lyrical descriptions of the land and her own adventures on foot and horseback paint vivid pictures of the past, the present, and the valley itself: "Owens Valley is a land between, a place tucked behind high mountains, arid yet soaked in water history, draped in desert vegetation yet remembered for its verdant farms . . . It exists between stories, between vitality and decline. . ."

The introduction describes the dramatic physical setting of Owens Valley and quotes Numu legends and early explorers' impressions of this arid land. The first essay, "A Land Between," explores the valley's natural environments and begins to reflect on the intimate connections between place and peoples. "Dwelling Before" chronicles the major periods of human settlement up to the early 1900s and the conflicts between the Numu and various newcomers—miners, farmers, and military. "Lives Diverted" dwells on the diversion of the valley's bountiful water into the Los Angeles Aqueduct, which changed forever both land and peoples. Valley life after diversion includes the World War II Japanese internment camp at Manzanar and the new industries that replaced farming—filming western movies and commercials on location, fishing, mule-packing, and tourism. The epilogue, "Parting Glances," reflects on changes of the past and changes evolving today, with people continuing to interact with the land and each other.

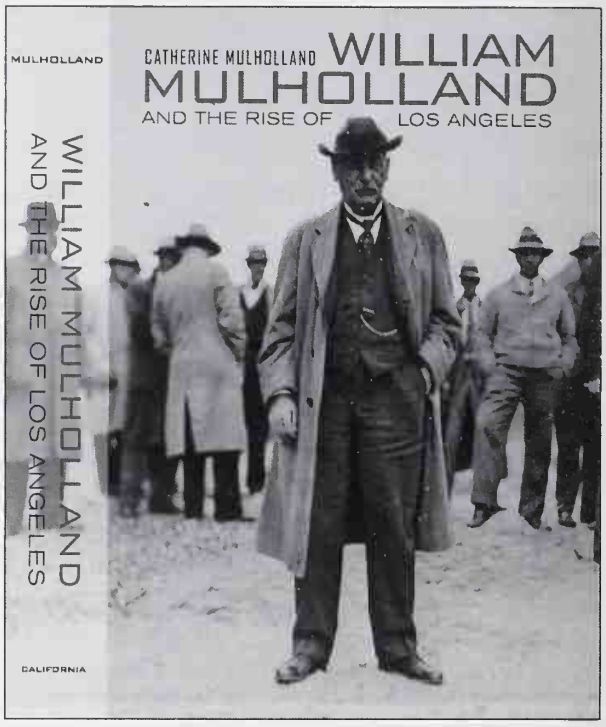
Except for several authoritative books that examine the Owens Valley "water wars" with the City of Los Angeles, historical studies of the region are scant. They consist largely of locally published books that relate anecdotal family histories or focus on specific incidents. Now we have here a broad-brush telling of Owens Valley's human history based on solid historical research. The author has gone to primary sources, oral histories, and conversations with today's valley dwellers. Nine pages of notes and a bibliographic essay contain a wealth of information. Exceptional photographs enhance this handsome, beautifully designed book. CHS

Books sent to *California History* for review that are not reviewed, but pertain to the collection, are catalogued in the California Historical Society library.

William Mulholland and the Rise of Los Angeles.

By Catherine Mulholland. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000, 432 pp., $35.00 cloth, $22.95 paper.)

Reviewed by William Kahrl, *author of* Water and Power *and editor of* The California Water Atlas.



Courtesy University of California Press.

Catherine Mulholland has no more patience for critics than did her grandfather, the subject of her book. Several years ago, she agreed to participate in the segment of the Public Broadcasting Service's television series of Marc Reisner's *Cadillac Desert* that dealt with Mulholland's leadership in building the Los Angeles Aqueduct. But when she saw what a weirdly distorted hash Reisner had made of these events, she promptly called the *Los Angeles Times* to denounce the enterprise, and rightly so.

In *William Mulholland*, she continues the effort to set the history of the aqueduct straight, or, at least, to put it back the way her grandfather wanted it.

No other figure looms as large in the history of California water development as William Mulholland. The success of his aqueduct to the Owens Valley in the eastern Sierra laid the foundation of the southern California metropolis, and the struggle of the Owens Valley to keep the city from draining away the basis of its agricultural prosperity created California's most enduring water war.

Catherine Mulholland brings two great advantages to this new biography—access to her grandfather's office files and the accumulation of family lore with which she grew up. The result is a more intimate and well-rounded account of Mulholland's first fifty years than we have ever had before, as well as a great deal more detail on the building of the aqueduct than many readers will care to know. Unfortunately, when it comes to the controversies that swirled around him—the financial interests that stood to profit most from his aqueduct, the duplicitous role of the federal reclamation service in promoting his project, and especially the conflict with the Owens Valley—Catherine Mulholland has little new to add to previous accounts. Indeed, like her grandfather, she prefers to ignore them.

One of the fiercest debates that has dogged the project since its inception, for example, involves the influence of the land speculators in the San Fernando Valley in promoting it. Catherine Mulholland all but dismisses the issue as specious in two paragraphs on pages 97 and 98. Congress was so concerned by the schemes of the speculators that it balked at approving the aqueduct until President Theodore Roosevelt imposed limitations on the city's use of the water that he hoped would keep the San Fernando interests from profiting unduly. But in Catherine Mulholland's account, these concerns melt away and Roosevelt's involvement is presented as an untrammeled triumph for the city and its boosters, rather than the setback that it was.

As for all those stories about the suffering of the Owens Valley at William Mulholland's hands, his granddaughter assures us they were mostly "artful contrivances" to be dismissed as "reckless and malicious accusations."

This is a history the way the Department of Water and Power likes it. Indeed, this is the version of events that William Mulholland originated and that Los Angeles's boosters continued to tell all the way to the middle of the last century.

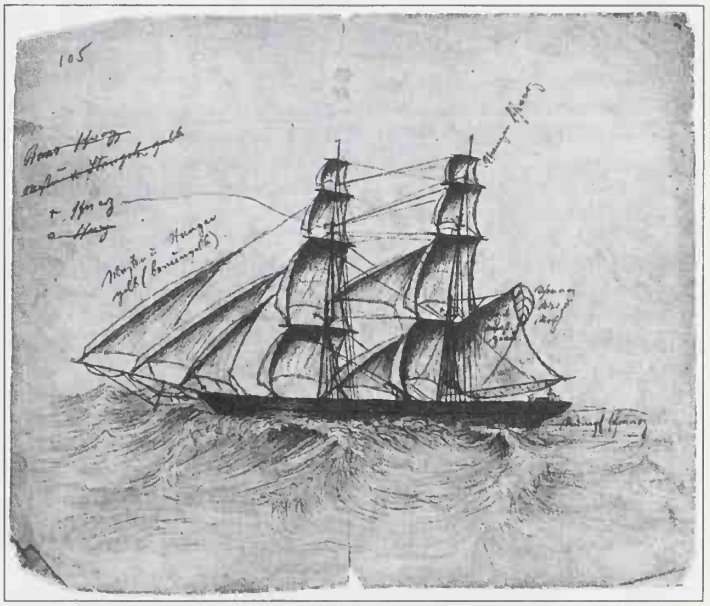
But if no one would accuse Catherine Mulholland of taking an objective approach to these issues, her advocacy is no more egregious than Reisner's or a dozen similar tracts by environment writers. And that's what makes her work so valuable.

In the process of writing a tribute to her grandpa, she has produced an unapologetic hymn to the benefits of large-scale water development. Coming at a time when significant segments of the political establishment not only despise such public-serving works but actually want to pull them down, Mulholland's viewpoint is not only refreshing but courageous. The fact that she could find a publisher—let alone the University of California Press—suggests the dark night of political correctness is finally lifting. And if she can find an audience, her work may at least pump some life, some debate, and maybe even some rigor back into environmental writing. CHS

Forty-Niners 'Round the Horn.

By Charles R. Schultz. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1999, xiv, 352 pp., $45.00 cloth.)

Reviewed by Richard H. Dillon, *professor of history, Fromm Institute, University of San Francisco.*



Many a hopeful good seeker documented the voyage to California as a personal record, a contribution to family history, and with a clear sense of the historic moment. Hand sketches demonstrating varying degrees of artistry and detail often illustrated the traveler's experiences. This pleasing pencil drawing is likely the 647-ton ship *Probus*, which sailed from New York Harbor in June 1849 and, rounding the Horn without mishap in September, arrived in San Francisco that December. It was rendered by Carl F. Christendorff, artist, friend, and partner to another German sailor, Adolphus Windeler, who served as a foremast hand on the voyage. Both young men kept accounts of their voyage and California experiences. This drawing appears in Windeler's *The California Gold Rush Diary of a German Sailor*, edited by W. Turrentine Jackson (Berkeley, Calif.: Howell-North Books, 1969). *Courtesy Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.*

In recent years, the Gold Rush's southern route to California has begun to catch up with the main Overland Trail in terms of interest to readers. This is because historians have belatedly applied themselves to the story of the Gila Trail instead of the main Platte-Humboldt route west.

However, this has not been the case with the third great "avenue" to California's mineral riches—the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. It is now more than a half-century since Oscar Lewis penned his *Sea Routes to the Gold Fields*, and a full decade since James P. Delgado wrote *To California by Sea*. But these two basic texts are now, finally, joined by a book of less breadth but of much more depth. It is an absolutely essential source on the day-by-day lives of California's maritime gold-seekers. To keep his research—and the book itself—within manageable bounds, the author has limited his study to sailing ships (no steamers) that departed during the year 1849, but the facts should stand for all Argonauts who sailed for San Francisco, whatever the year.

There is, in fact, so much in the way of details, minutiae, lists, and quotations that the readability of the narrative is sometimes impaired. But the trade-off is well worth the wait of so many years for such a book of maritime social history. The volume has little to do with the technology of the vessels; everything to do with the passengers; and it provides a surprising amount of new information on masters, mates, and crews.

Virtually every aspect of the passengers' lives on the long voyage around Cape Horn is thoroughly examined here. The author has skillfully combined the myriad elements of his story in ten chapters with titles suggesting his approach: Preparations, Under Way, Food and Drink, Amusements, Sundays and Holidays, Weather, People Problems, Miscellaneous Problems, Duties and Responsibilities. He finishes off the story with the travelers' First Impressions of San Francisco.

Schultz's research has been prodigious. His book is largely based on his study of more than one hundred unpublished shipboard journals, plus more that were printed, along with letters, memoirs and reminiscences, and secondary sources. The appended bibliography is excellent.

The very number and the quality of the passengers' "logs" testifies to the high intellectual and educational level of the men so often depicted as rootless, irresponsible, brawling fellows. (There were few women and children aboard in '49.) True, there was considerable interpersonal conflict, but less real violence than one might expect, and less gambling and drunkenness than occurred once the men were safely ashore in El Dorado. Perhaps the much-noted wild behavior of these young men was restrained by their membership in joint stock companies during the long voyages.

On the other hand, the extreme "cabin fever" of long confinement usually with strangers during month after month of voyaging was exacerbated by the nineteenth century's customs of the sea, as well as by abominable food and drink and squalid living conditions. Some tyrannical masters and mates treated their paying customers as if they were crewmen, and this was a time when American merchant seamen had virtually no civil rights. Yet it is astonishing that even first-class passengers had enough "pull" with U.S. consuls in ports-of-call en route to California to oust bullying skippers from their commands and to replace them with more humane captains.

This book is loaded to the gunwales with insights into the oft-forgotten hardships endured at sea by would-be gold miners long before they alternately roasted and froze in the placers of the Mother Lode. CHS

Gold Rush Politics: California's First Legislature.

By Mary Jo Ignoffo. (Sacramento: California State Senate, 1999, viii, 145 pp., $15.50 cloth, $5.50 paper.)

Reviewed by Lex Renda, *associate professor of history at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee and author of* Running on the Record: Civil War Era Politics in New Hampshire.

This small volume traces the creation of California's state government, with special attention to the legislative session that assembled from December 1849 through April 1850, prior to the state's actual admission into the Union. It is a curious book. On the one hand, it promises to delve into issues that are of great concern to today's historians: federalism (especially in light of the uncertain legal status of the first legislature), multiculturalism, slavery, and regionalism. Ignoffo tells us that "it is impossible to examine the genesis of politics in the far reaches of California without the vivid backdrop of" the sectional debates in Washington, and that California's first legislators "had intense loyalties to their native states and to their chosen political parties, as well as fiercely guarded positions on the issue of slavery. Now as Californians, they plotted a course to achieve their own particular political, economic, and social ideals" (p. 2).

By and large, however, there is no follow-up analysis. We learn, in fact, that the prohibition of slavery in the Constitution was almost unopposed. We never learn what class or regional factors influenced the debates Ignoffo unearths on women's property rights, the migratory rights of free blacks, the tax on foreign-born miners, or the adoption of the English common law. Her treatment of the admission of California is really just a rehash of well-worn interpretations of the passage of the Compromise of 1850. Despite the occasional reference to a leading figure's political party, there is no hint (much less sustained analysis) of how partisanship functioned either in the election of delegates to the Constitutional Convention, ratification of the Constitution, or in the workings of the legislature.

Most of the book is comprised, both in the text and in the appendix, of biographical vignettes. Anyone with a genealogical or otherwise antiquarian interest in California history will find this book a useful reference tool. Had it been published a century ago, it would be considered "normal" in its retelling (almost in a eulogistic fashion) of the struggles endured by settlers in the 1840s and in its Whiggish approach to history: despite the Anglo legislators' arrogant refusal to respect the rights of Californios and Native Americans, their naively unenforceable tax law, and their occasional myopia, the reader is reassured that "we" can be challenged by the example of those legislators' experiences to "search for new ways of dealing with old problems" (p. 99). CHS

Encyclopedia of California's Catholic Heritage: 1769–1999.

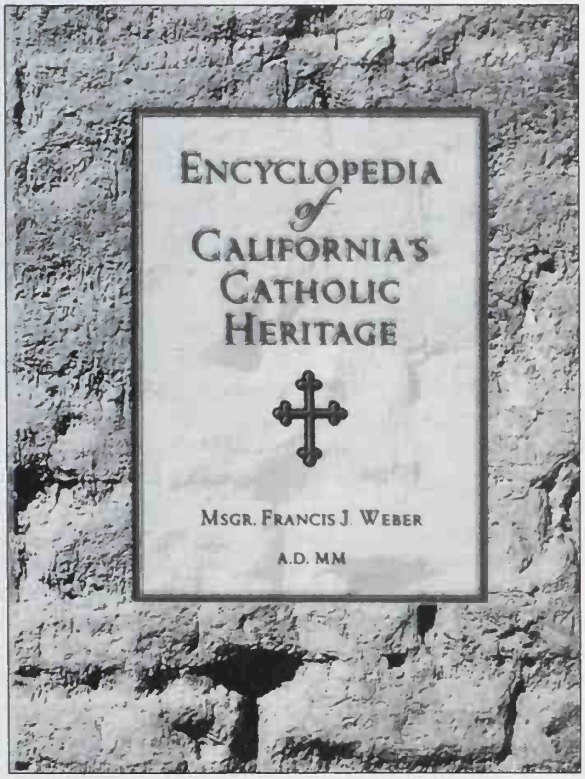
By Msgr. Francis J. Weber. (Mission Hills, Calif. & Spokane, Wash.: Saint Francis Historical Society and The Arthur H. Clark Co., 2001, 1148 pp., $90.00.)

Reviewed by Lisa R. Wiggins, *doctoral student at Texas Christian University.*

In this work of magnificent breadth and depth, Msgr. Francis Weber assumes sole responsibility for chronicling California's Catholic heritage. Weber's coverage of the Church's history in the Golden State is limited only by space, and ranges from the twenty-one missions that color California's landscape to the numerous men and women counted among its faithful.

Weber's undertaking is a mammoth one in some respects, for Catholicism on the West Coast has a history of its own, quite distinct from its history on the Atlantic seaboard. Isolated by distance and disinterest from America's early colonists, the Catholic presence in the West reflects a cast of characters and events little known by the rest of the nation. Weber reveals the richness of Catholicism's history in California and its formative impact on the state's overall development.

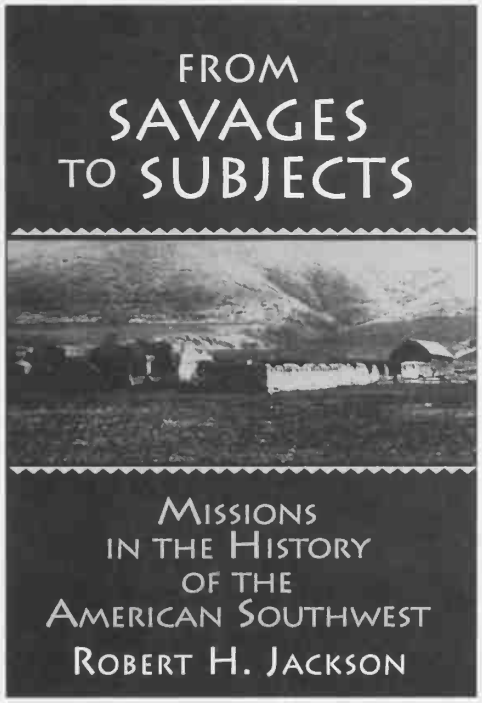
The *Encyclopedia*'s content is divided into nine major categories: California Missions, Hierarchy, Laity, Clergymen, Friars, Religious Men and Women, Ecclesial Institutions, Memoirs, Topical, and Index. These are dealt with generally or specifically depending on their significance and the extent of the formation known about them. Weber offers a fascinating array of biographical sketches of the clergymen and ordinary men and women who participated in California's Catholic heritage. Scholars, artists, journalists, politicians, and countless others not only reflect the strength of their faith, but also their concern for secular issues such as education, reform, and public service. The author—who is the archivist of the Archdiocese of Los Angeles—also discusses the adaptation of church structure and operation during the provincial period of isolated, rural Alta California, such as the establishment of apostolic colleges and a flexible hierarchy. Weber's collection of memoirs offers con-



Courtesy The Arthur H. Clark Co.

temporary observations of the atmosphere and conditions in which Catholicism existed in California. These firsthand accounts attest to the diversity of the frontier experience, and the value of Catholicism's role in the development of the Golden State.

Francis Weber has produced a work of admirable scope. The *Encyclopedia of California's Catholic Heritage* is a resource for both the scholar and the student alike. It is an invaluable reference that should be consulted first and foremost for anyone interested in California's Catholic history. CHS



Courtesy M.E. Sharpe Publishers.

From Savages to Subjects: Missions in the History of the American Southwest.

By Robert H. Jackson. (Armonk, New York: M.E. Sharpe, Inc., 2000, xvii, 151 pp., $48.95 cloth, $21.95 paper.)

Reviewed by Steven W. Hackel, *assistant professor of history at Oregon State University and author of* "Land, Labor, and Production: The Colonial Economy of Spanish and Mexican California," *in* Contested Eden: California before the Gold Rush, *edited by Ramón A. Gutiérrez and Richard J. Orsi.*

In recent years Robert H. Jackson has emerged as one of the most prolific interpreters of the missions of the Spanish Borderlands. He has written or edited eight books and authored more than three dozen articles, the majority of which explore some aspect of the Catholic missions established in the American Southwest under Spanish rule. In this volume, Jackson sets his sights on what for him and many other scholars has become a familiar target: the triumphal narrative "of the Catholic Church self-history" that "emphasizes the positive influence of the missionaries on the indigenous populations and the sacredness of the missionaries' venture" (p. xi). As Jackson notes, this history was extremely influential in California during the twentieth century, perhaps reaching its zenith in the 1980s as the Catholic Church moved forward with is campaign to canonize Fr.

Junípero Serra, the primary architect of the California mission system. The majority of Jackson's publications to date have constituted a counterpoint to this "Church" history, and *From Savages to Subjects* continues this argument.

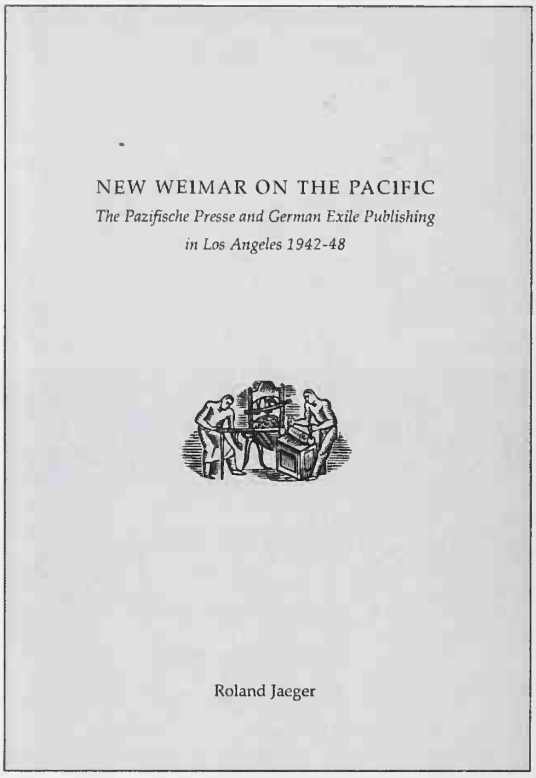
From Savages to Subjects is organized topically; in separate chapters it covers mission economies, the construction of the missions, social and cultural change among baptized Indians, Indian resistance to the missions, Indian population decline in the missions, and the secularization and collapse of the mission system. Each of these chapters selectively discusses key events and developments across the provinces of Arizona, New Mexico, Texas, and the Californias. One of the volume's notable strengths, therefore, is its concise comparisons of regions that scholars have all too often examined in isolation from one another. Jackson demonstrates the variety over time and region of many factors, such as the beliefs and settlement patterns of native peoples, the ability of the land to support agricultural communities, the proximity of the missions to coastal ports, the character and zeal of individual missionaries, and the Spanish Crown's geo-political calculations. The result was a tremendous diversity in the development of missions across the Southwest even as Indians confronted similar challenges to their autonomy and well-being, namely, disease, dislocation, proselytization, and economic exploitation.

Some readers, no doubt, especially scholars of the Spanish Borderlands, will be frustrated by this volume's lack of footnotes or endnotes. But non-specialists interested in an overview and critical study of the missions of the Southwest will find *From Savages to Subjects* readable and useful, and they will find in the bibliographical essay at the end of the book a guide to many of the standard works on the missions of the American Southwest. CHS

New Weimar on the Pacific: The Pazifische Presse and German Exile Publishing 1942–48.

By Roland Jaeger. Translated from the German by Marion Philadelphia and edited by Victoria Dailey. (Los Angeles: Victoria Dailey Publisher, 2000, 87 pp., $45.00.)

Reviewed by Jarrell C. Jackman, *executive director of the Santa Barbara Trust for Historic Preservation and co-editor of the Smithsonian Institution volume* The Muses Flee Hitler.



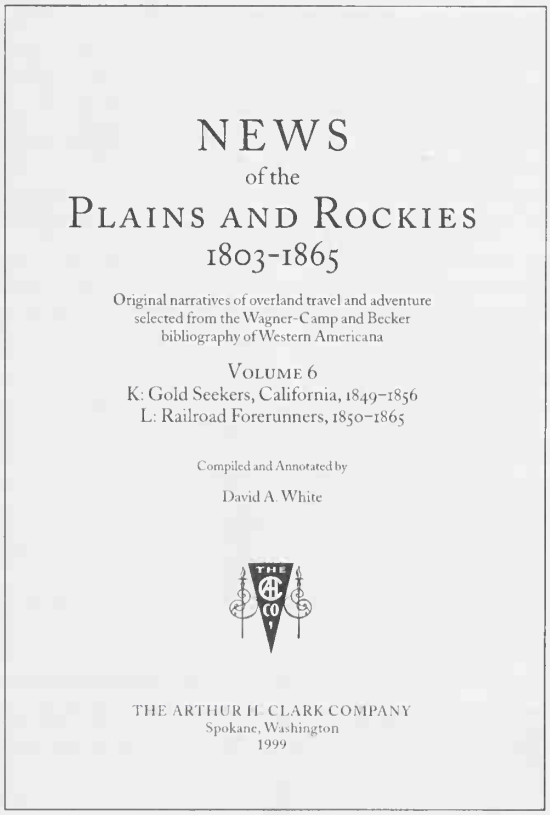
Courtesy Victoria Dailey, Publisher.

At least up to the present, the brief history, 1933 to 1950, of the intellectual emigration from Nazi Germany to southern California has been a story of more interest to Germans than Americans and Californians. German scholars, both in this country and in the Fatherland, have well documented, albeit hardly exhausted, the subject. Archival material at USC and UCLA awaits future researchers, and, as time has passed, much more information has also become available in German archives.

New Weimar on the Pacific: The Pazifische Presse and German Exile Publishing in Los Angeles 1942–48 introduces us to a small, but noble, chapter of the German exile experience in southern California. I have a bit of a problem with the title, because it implies something that was really not the case: namely that the émigrés were transplanting "Goethe's Weimar" or were re-creating the German Weimar Republic under southern California's sunny skies. In truth, the émigrés were not products nor were their creative works representative of either Goethe's Weimar or the Weimar Republic, although they certainly supported the latter over the Nazi alternative, including Nobel Laureate Thomas Mann, who up to World War I was known for his conservative politics. Mann was the most notable of the literati who settled in California, building himself a comfortable home in Pacific Palisades.

The prospectus for the book nicely summarizes its contents and purpose: "The Pazifische Presse, founded by fellow German émigrés Ernst Gottlieb and Felix Guggenheim, published eleven books, mainly fiction, between 1942 and 1948 by [German] writers-in-exile. Handsomely printed in small editions by Saul Marks at the Plantin Press . . . [and] the only publishing venture of its kind on the West Coast, the Pazifische Presse fulfilled its stated mission, which was 'to give testimony to the eminent cultural force that was expelled by Hitler and which found a future in America.'" The eleven books have become collectors' items, although most American readers are unlikely to be familiar with the authors other than Thomas Mann and maybe Franz Werfel and Alfred Döblin.

Printed in a limited addition of three hundred copies with eighteen illustrations, *New Weimar*'s cost of $45 versus the rather short length of the book means that collectors and libraries will be the predominant purchasers. The volume will serve primarily as a reminder of the many great minds and artists who were in our midst during this period—as well as of the creativity that was allowed, if not fostered, by the local denizens, who were at war with the homeland of the émigrés. To what degree southern California influenced this creativity may forever remain a moot point, although exile encounters such as that between the great Frankfurt School philosopher/sociologist Theodor Adorno and Thomas Mann, during the latter's work on his novel *Doctor Faustus*, perhaps should be studied in this light. One hopes *New Weimar* will set a scholar or two to the task of trying to determine through the exile experience whether southern California can lay claim to being anything more than the intellectual dead end of Hollywood. CHS


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Compiled and Annotated by
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News of the Plains and Rockies 1803–1865, volume 6: Gold Seekers, California, 1849–1856, Railroad Forerunners, 1850–1865.

David A. White, ed. (Spokane: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1999, 464 pp., $75.00 cloth.)

Reviewed by Thomas Frederick Howard, *associate professor of geography at Armstrong Atlantic State University and author of* Sierra Crossing: First Roads to California.

This is the sixth of a projected eight volumes of documents that in the editor's view "represent the types of published information that shaped the views of the American people about the West from 1803 to 1865." Volume 6 contains seven items on overland travel to the goldfields and fourteen pertaining to the Pacific Railroad.

The overland travel set includes the first commercial map intended to show the way to the goldfields, an 1849 discussion of the pros and cons of land vs. sea routes, and three detailed day-by-day "waybills" to guide the overland traveler. All of these, when first published, were "news" that had some influence on readers' travel plans.

The Pacific Railroad set is mostly concerned with route exploration and selection. Included here are reports or speeches by a number of figures who will be familiar to students of this period, such as William Gwin, Thomas Hart Benton, John C. Frémont, and Frederick Lander, as well as documents from people less well known. Among the latter, two promote rail lines to reach the Pacific via Mexico and the Gulf of California; four pertain to the selection of the Union Pacific's route across what is now southern Wyoming.

An 1853 speech by one of California's first senators, William Gwin, includes excerpts from field reports by army officers assigned to the Pacific Railroad Surveys, then in progress. Benton's speech, delivered in Baltimore in December 1854, and Fré-

mont's report to the Senate earlier that year exemplify the prolonged and quixotic efforts of both men to have the Pacific Railroad built through the Colorado Rockies.

Lander is represented by two reports, one from 1854 arguing for a route via South Pass and Salt Lake and the other from 1858 proposing a route through South Pass and Fort Hall. In both he makes the case for building a cheap light railroad that could pay for itself quickly and be upgraded later, rather than sinking a large amount of money into a first-class line at the outset. Though the editor says that Lander's ideas on this point were not taken seriously, in fact this is a good statement of a policy that the geographer James E. Vance has shown to be characteristic of American railroad building in general, as opposed to the British model. There are few such lapses by the editor, however; he has done an outstanding job of introducing each document, giving extensive commentary as to historical significance and legacy, and summarizing what can be confusing itineraries.

Many documents in this volume are reproduced here for the first time since original publication. A few are in facsimile form; most have been reset, though with scrupulous attention to preserving the pagination and other features of the original.

This set of volumes seems intended more for libraries than the individual reader, excepting only the most dedicated student of western geography and history. In the library they could be a valuable resource for anyone who has been drawn into the field by writings of authors like George Stewart or William Goetzmann and is now ready to sample primary sources. Public and smaller academic libraries, lacking extensive special collections and government document archives, will find these volumes a valuable addition to their shelves. CHS

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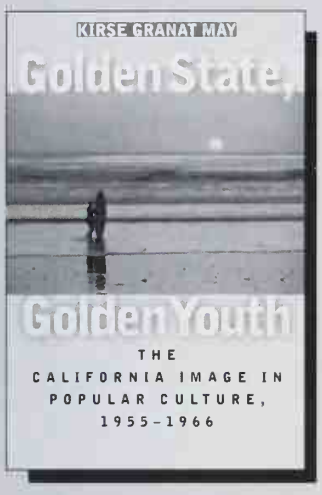
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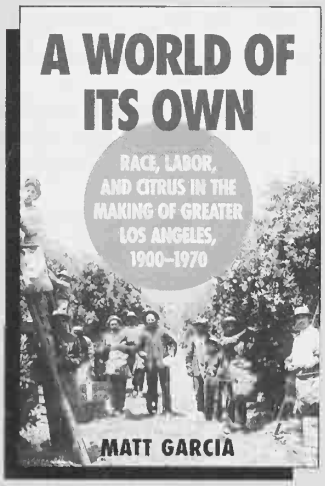
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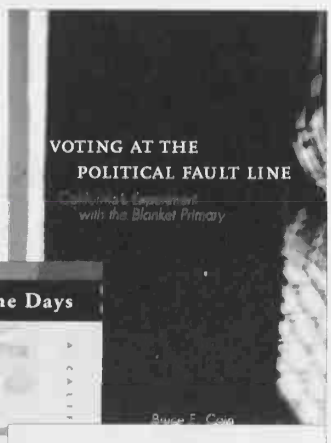
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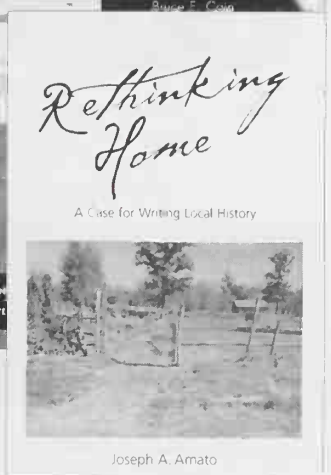
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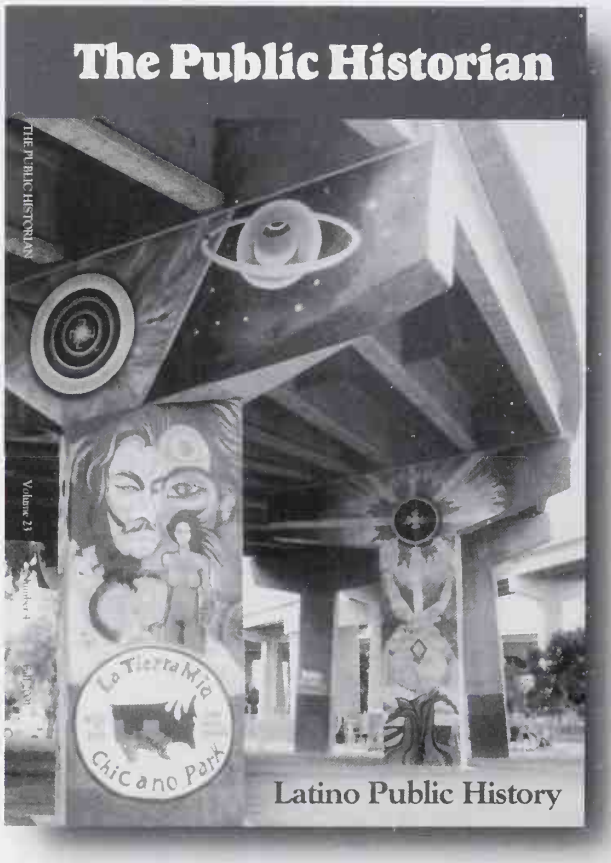
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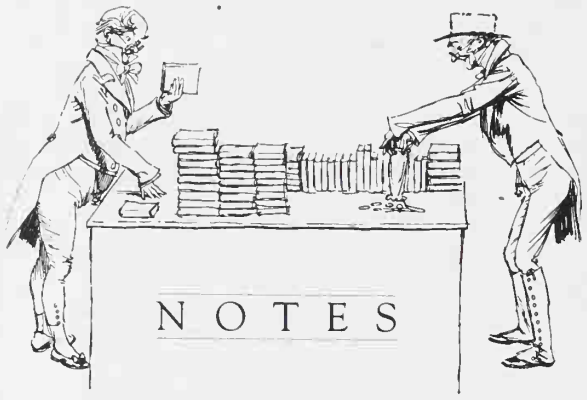
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Frank Sauerwein
Frederick Schafer
Charles Schreyvogel
Olaf C. Seltzer
Henry M. Shardy
Joseph Henry Sharp
John Mix Stanley
Jules Tavernier
Donald Teague
Walter Ufer
Thaddeus Welch
Worthington Whittredge
Gunnar Widforss
Olaf Wieghorst
Charles Wimar
Walter Winans
Theodore Wores
N. C. Wyeth
Raymond D. Yelland
Mahonri MacIntosh Young
Eustace Ziegler
and others...



NOTES

Leary, "Winston S. Churchill in California," pp. 162-175.

1. Biographies of Churchill abound. The most extensive is Randolph S. Churchill and Martin Gilbert, *Winston S. Churchill,* 8 vols. (London: Heinemann, 1966–88). Randolph S. Churchill did the first two volumes, Martin Gilbert the remaining six. They are hereafter cited as either Randolph Churchill, *Churchill,* or Gilbert, *Churchill,* according to author. For the California trip see Gilbert, *Churchill,* vol. 5 (1976).

 Winston S. Churchill's own correspondence is virtually indispensable. Much of it is in the many companion volumes to Randolph S. Churchill and Martin Gilbert's biography. For the trip see Martin Gilbert, *Winston S. Churchill, Volume V, Companion Part 2* (London: Heinemann, 1981), hereafter cited as Gilbert, *Companion.*

 A recollection of the trip is in John Spencer Churchill's *A Churchill Canvas* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1961), hereafter cited as John Churchill, *Canvas.* A contemporaneous account is in Randolph S. Churchill's diary *Twenty-One Years* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1965), hereafter cited as Randolph Churchill, *Twenty-One.*

 Robert H. Pilpel, *Churchill in America, 1895–1961, An Affectionate Portrait* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1976) is a lively book about Churchill's many U.S. visits with Chap. 5 treating that of 1929. Two survey articles are especially helpful. The earlier is Manfred Weidhorn, "America through Churchill's Eyes," *Thought 50* (March 1975): 5-34. More recent is John H. Chettle, "Winston Churchill in America," *Smithsonian* 32 (April 2001): 80-90.
2. Winston S. Churchill to William Crocker, 29 July 1929, in Gilbert, *Companion,* 30. Winston S. Churchill is hereafter cited as WSC. See also *San Francisco Chronicle,* 12 Sept. 1929, sec. 1, p. 3; *Los Angeles Examiner,* 19 Sept. 1929, sec. 1, p. 5.
3. For Churchill as an author, see Manfred Weidhorn, *Sword and Pen, A Survey of the Writings of Sir Winston Churchill* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1974), esp. 1-2; William Manchester, *The Last Lion, Winston Spencer Churchill,* vol. 1, *Visions of Glory,* 1874-1932 (Boston: Little, Brown, 1983), 756, 764-65; Keith Alldritt, *Churchill the Writer, His Life as a Man of Letters* (London: Hutchinson, 1992), esp. chaps. 6-7.
4. Gilbert, *Churchill,* 5:334, 351. The twelve *Daily Telegraph* articles appeared from 18 Nov. 1929 through 3 Feb. 1930; they are hereafter cited as WSC, *Telegraph.* At least some appeared elsewhere, too, either at the time or later. The *San Francisco Chronicle* carried four of them, and several are in Winston S. Churchill, ed. [WSC's grandson], *The Great Republic, A History of America, Sir Winston Churchill* (New York: Random House, 1999).
5. WSC to Clementine Churchill, telegram, 18 Oct. 1929, in Gilbert, *Companion,* 105; Gilbert, *Churchill,* 5:349. Clementine Churchill is hereafter cited as CC.
6. WSC to Bernard Baruch, 28 June 1929, in Gilbert, *Companion,* 10.
7. Both Churchill's search for cooperation and his intuitive quality are subjects all in themselves. But on the first, just for example, see Fraser J. Harbutt, *The Iron Curtain, Churchill, America and the Origins of the Cold War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), esp. 4-20. On the second, again just for example, see Anthony Storr, "The Man," in A.J.P. Taylor et al., *Churchill Revised, A Critical Assessment* (New York: Dial Press, 1969), esp. 238-39.
8. WSC to Bernard Baruch, 28 June 1929, in Gilbert, *Companion,* 9; WSC to CC, 8 Aug. 1929, in Gilbert, *Companion,* 37 n. 2; Gilbert, *Churchill,* 5:340-45.
9. Robert M. Stampp, "Steel of Empire," in Hugh A. Dempsey, ed., *The CPR West, The Iron Road and the Making of a Nation* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1984), esp. 283-89.
10. *Seattle Daily Times,* 7 Sept. 1929, 1; *Seattle Post-Intelligencer,* 7 Sept. 1929, 2.
11. WSC to CC, 18 Sept. 1929, in Gilbert, *Companion,* 82; The hotels were the Lauff (*Crescent City American,* 13 Sept. 1929, 1) and the Van (*Willits News* 13 Sept. 1929, 1).
12. WSC to CC, 18 Sept. 1929, in Gilbert, *Companion,* 82; WSC, *Telegraph,* 23 Dec. 1929, 8.
13. WSC, *Telegraph,* 23 Dec. 1929, 8; Stephen C. Sillett, "Biology of Redwood Forest Canopies" (summary of results of recent studies at the Institute for Forest Canopy Research, Dept. of Biological Sciences, Humboldt State University [Arcata, Calif.], 2001), 1.
14. Randolph Churchill, *Twenty-One,* 84; *Humboldt Times* (Eureka), 10 Sept. 1929, 3. The vice-consul and second car were probably waiting at the Eureka Inn.
15. Sillett, "Biology," 2.
16. Ibid., 1,2.
17. Randolph Churchill, *Twenty-One,* 84-85; WSC to CC, 25 Sept. 1929, in Gilbert, *Companion,* 93; WSC, *Telegraph,* 2 Dec. 1929, 10.
18. Randolph Churchill, *Twenty-One,* 82-83.
19. WSC to CC, 18 Sept. 1929, in Gilbert, *Companion,* 82.
20. Randolph Churchill, *Twenty-One,* 85, 90.
21. *San Francisco Chronicle,* 10 Sept. 1929, sec. 1, p. 1. Although the Crocker residence ("New

Place") was actually in Hillsborough, it was so near Burlingame that Crocker and thus Churchill spoke of it as being there.

22. WSC to CC, 25 Sept. 1929, in Gilbert, *Companion*, 93-95.
23. David Warren Ryder, *"Great Citizen," A Biography of William H. Crocker* (San Francisco: Historical Publications, 1962), esp. 118-19, 200-202.
24. *San Francisco Examiner*, 10 Sept. 1929, 1; WSC, *Telegraph*, 30 Dec. 1929, 8.
25. *San Francisco Chronicle*, 15 Aug. 1894, 10; *San Francisco Chronicle*, 16 Aug. 1894, 4; Ralph G. Martin, *Jennie, The Life of Lady Randolph Churchill*, vol. 1, *The Romantic Years, 1854-1895* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1969), 328-29.
26. Mrs. George Cornwallis-West [Jennie Jerome Churchill], *The Reminiscences of Lady Randolph Churchill* (New York: Century, 1908), 314.
27. *San Francisco Chronicle*, 12 Sept. 1929, sec. 1, p. 3; cf. *San Francisco Examiner*, 12 Sept. 1929, 1, 3. Tom Segev, *One Palestine, Complete, Jews and Arabs under the British Mandate* (New York: Henry Holt, 2000), esp. chap. 14, is useful here.
28. Gilbert, *Companion*, 86 n. 1.
29. Oskar F. Rabinowicz, *Winston Churchill on Jewish Problems* (New York: Thomas Yoseloff, 1960), 36-37, 195; Gilbert, *Churchill*, 4 (1975): 484-85; Michael J. Cohen, *Churchill and the Jews* (London: F. Cass, 1985), 55-56.
30. WSC to CC, 25 Sept. 1929, in Gilbert, *Companion*, 94-95; WSC, *Telegraph*, 23 Dec. 1929, 8.
31. WSC, *Telegraph*, 23 Dec. 1929, 8.
32. CC to WSC, telegram, 12 Sept. 1929, in Mary [Churchill] Soames, ed., *Winston and Clementine, The Personal Letters of the Churchills* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1999), 344.
33. WSC, *Telegraph*, 30 Dec. 1929, 8. For the Russ Building, see the U. S. Federal Writers' Project, *California, A Guide to the Golden State* (New York: Hastings House, 1939), 279, and David Gebhard et al., *The Guide to Architecture in San Francisco and Northern California*, rev. ed. (Salt Lake City: Gibbs M. Smith, 1985), 67.
34. WSC to CC, 25 Sept. 1929, WSC to CC, 1929 Sept. 1929, both in Gilbert, *Companion*, 95, 98. When Tobin died, Mrs. Charles Tobin Clark was a surviving sister (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 24 Jan. 1952, 11). She did have a residence at Pebble Beach (*Polk's Salinas, Monterey and Pacific Grove Directory, 1928* [San Francisco: R. L. Polk, 1928], 513).
35. WSC to CC, 19 Sept. 1929, WSC to CC, 29 Sept. 1929, both in Gilbert, *Companion*, 87-88, 96-97; Gilbert, *Churchill*, 5:346-47. For Hearst see W. A. Swanberg, *Citizen Hearst, A Biography of William Randolph Hearst* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1961), esp. 444-45; David Nasaw, *The Chief, A Biography of William Randolph Hearst* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2000), esp. 378-79.
36. Frederick Woods, *A Bibliography of the Works of Sir Winston Churchill* (London: Kaye & Ward, 1969), 216. For their earlier acquaintance, see Soames, *Winston and Clementine*, 346 n. 3. See also WSC to CC, 19 Sept. 1929, in Gilbert, *Companion*, 87. Johnny's remarks are in John Churchill, *Canvas*, 89.
37. WSC to CC, 29 Sept. 1929, in Gilbert, *Companion*, 96; WSC to William Crocker, 19 Sept. 1929, in Gilbert, *Companion*, 89.
38. Randolph S. Churchill and Helmut Gernsheim, eds., *Churchill, His Life in Photographs* (New York: Rinehart, 1955), fig. 132.
39. Swanberg, *Citizen*, 416; Nasaw, *Chief*, 418.
40. Swanberg, *Citizen*, 453-54; Nasaw, *Chief*, 369-70.
41. WSC to CC, 19 Sept. 1929, in Gilbert, *Companion*, 88; John Churchill, *Canvas*, 89.
42. John Churchill, *Canvas*, 90; Gilbert, *Churchill*, 5:349.
43. *Los Angeles Examiner*, 19 Sept. 1929, sec. 1, pp. 5, 13, has the full text; cf. *Los Angeles Times*, 19 Sept. 1929, sec. 2, pp. 1, 3. See also Robert Sklar, *Movie-Made America, A Cultural History of American Movies*, rev. ed. (New York: Vintage Books, 1994), esp. chaps. 13, 16, 19.
44. WSC to CC, 19 Sept. 1929, in Gilbert, *Companion*, 88. Randolph Churchill, *Twenty-One*, 88-89; *Morning Press* (Santa Barbara), 20 Sept. 1929, 1.
45. Cf. Gilbert, *Churchill*, 5:348.
46. Randolph Churchill, *Twenty-One*, 89-90; WSC to CC, 29 Sept. 1929, in Gilbert, *Companion*, 97; John Churchill, *Canvas*, 90-91.
47. *Los Angeles Times*, 19 Sept. 1929, sec. 2, p. 3.
48. WSC to CC, 29 Sept. 1929, in Gilbert, *Companion*, 97. For background on Robinson and Page, see Rockwell Hereford, *A Whole Man—Henry Mauris Robinson and a Half Century—1890-1940* (Pacific Grove, Calif.: Boxwood Press, 1985), esp. chaps. 2, 14; "James Page, L. A. Civic Leader, Dies," *Los Angeles Times*, 22 July 1962, sec. C, pp. 1, 9.
49. *Los Angeles Times*, 23 Sept. 1929, sec. 2, p. 1.
50. His remarks appeared in both the *Los Angeles Times*, 24 Sept. 1929, sec. 2, p. 1, and the *Los Angeles Examiner*, 24 Sept. 1929, sec. 1, p. 1. Also see WSC to CC, 29 Sept. 1929, in Gilbert, *Companion*, 98.
51. Randolph Churchill, *Twenty-One*, 90; Gilbert, *Companion*, 97. Although *City Lights* was not released until 1931, Chaplin began filming in December 1928 and did not finish for almost two years. When Churchill visited the studio, Chaplin might have shown him rushes or footage from the uncompleted film. See David Robinson, *Chaplin: His Life and Art* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1985).
52. Sarah Churchill, *A Thread in the Tapestry* (New York: Dodd Mead, 1967), 35-36.
53. Randolph Churchill, *Twenty-One*, 90; Alldritt, *Churchill*, 95, 119-21.
54. Ethel Barrymore, *Memories, An Autobiography* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1955), 125; John Kobler, *Damned in Paradise, The Life of John Barrymore* (New York: Atheneum, 1977), 51-52.
55. Kobler, *Damned*, 52.
56. Randolph Churchill, *Churchill*, 2 (1967): 252; Mary [Churchill] Soames, *Clementine Churchill, The Biography of a Marriage* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1979), 44, 48-49.
57. Barrymore, *Memories*, esp. 300; Randolph Churchill, *Churchill*, 2:252; Soames, *Clementine*, 300.
58. Gene Fowler, *Good Night, Sweet Prince, The Life & Times of John Barrymore* (Philadelphia: Blakiston, 1944), 223, 332; Kobler, *Damned*, 256.
59. Churchill, *Telegraph*, 30 Dec. 1929, 8. For one study on the automobile in southern California, see Scott L. Bottles, *Los Angeles and the Automobile, The Making of the Modern City* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), esp. 4-19.
60. WSC, *Telegraph*, 30 Dec. 1929, 8.
61. U. S. Bureau of the Census, Fifteenth Census: *Population*, vol. 4 (Washington, D. C.: GPO, 1933), 172, 176, 180.
62. Carey McWilliams, *Southern California Country, An Island on the Land* (New York: Duell, Sloan & Pearce, 1946), 242.
63. WSC, *Telegraph*, 30 Dec. 1929, 8.
64. U. S. Bureau of the Census, Fifteenth Census: 1930, *Unemployment*, vol. 1 (Washington, D. C.: GPO, 1931), 151.
65. City of Los Angeles, Social Service Commission, *Twelfth Annual Report* (Los Angeles: City of Los Angeles, 1925), 10, in storage location C2038, Los Angeles City Archives.
66. WSC, *Telegraph*, 23 Dec. 1929, 8.
67. William Randolph Hearst, "English Speaking Nations of the World Should Join to Maintain Peace," in E. F. Tompkins, ed., *Selections from the Writings and Speeches of William Randolph Hearst* (San Francisco: Priv. pub., 1948), 194-97.
68. *Los Angeles Examiner*, 19 Sept. 1929, sec. 1, p.5.
69. Swanberg, *Hearst*, 488-89, 493-94, 499; Nasaw, *Chief*, 554-55, 560-61.
70. *New York Times*, 20 May 1940, 11. See also Walter Johnson, *William Allen White's America* (New York: Henry Holt, 1947), 526-30.

71. John Perry Wood to Mrs. Thomas E. Workman, 30 Oct. 1940, in Workman Family Papers, series 2, box 5, folder 1, Center for the Study of Los Angeles Research Collection, Loyola Marymount University. See the letterhead.
72. Gilmore Stott to Robert A. Millikan, 18 Dec. 1940, in Robert A. Millikan Collection, box 21, folder 14, Institute Archives, California Institute of Technology. See the letterhead.
73. *Los Angeles Times*, 23 Sept. 1929, sec. 2, p. 2; *Los Angeles Times*, 24 Sept. 1929, sec. 2, p. 2.
74. WSC to CC, 8 Aug. 1929, in Gilbert, *Companion*, 38-39.
75. Charles Sherburn et al., "Huntington Library Collections," *Huntington Library Bulletin*, 1 (1931): 93.
76. WSC to [Librarian, Huntington Library], 21 July 1932, in Huntington Manuscript 54965, Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, Calif. Churchill had just learned of pertinent papers and sought copies. For more of his quest, see nos. 54966-69.
77. Maurice Ashley, *Churchill as Historian* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1968), 26-28; Martin Gilbert, *In Search of Churchill, A Historian's Journey* (London: HarperCollins, 1994), 137-52.
78. *Los Angeles Examiner*, 26 Sept. 1929, sec. 1, p. 15; *San Francisco Chronicle*, 27 Sept. 1929, sec. 1, p. 1.
79. Charles Schwab to WSC, telegram, 9 Aug. 1929, WSC to Schwab, 10 Aug. 1929, WSC to Schwab, 27 Aug. 1929, all in Gilbert, *Companion*, 41-42, 60.
80. *San Francisco Chronicle*, 28 Sept. 1929, sec. 1, p. 1; *Mariposa Gazette*, 4 Oct. 1929, 1.
81. Merced *Sun-Star*, 28 Sept. 1929, 2; William Van Antwerp to WSC, 23 Nov. 33, in Gilbert, *Companion*, 683.
82. *San Francisco Chronicle*, 30 Sept. 1929, sec. 1, p. 12.
83. WSC to CC, 29 Sept. 1929, in Gilbert, *Companion*, 96.
84. WSC to Bernard Baruch, telegram, 29 Sept. 1929, Baruch to WSC, telegram, 30 Sept. 1929, both in Baruch Papers, Selected Correspondence, vol. 22 (1929), Mudd Manuscript Library, Princeton University.
85. John Churchill, *Canvas*, 93-94.
86. David Coombs, comp., *Churchill, His Paintings* (Cleveland: World Publishing, 1967), 120-21; Mary [Churchill] Soames, *Winston Churchill, His Life as a Painter* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1990), 75.
87. WSC to CC, 1 Sept. 1929, in Gilbert, *Companion*, 68.
88. Gilbert, *Churchill*, 5:349.
89. Bernard M. Baruch, *Baruch*, vol. 2, *The Public Years* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1960), 71, 121-23, 345.
90. WSC to Bernard Baruch, 28 July 1929, in Gilbert, *Companion*, 28. Baruch and Crocker had been business associates (Margaret L. Coit, *Mr. Baruch* [Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1957], 125-26, 346).
91. WSC to CC, 25 Sept. 1929, in Gilbert, *Companion*, 95. Van Antwerp had been governor of the New York Stock Exchange (*New York Times*, 18 Feb. 1938, 19).
92. WSC to Bernard Baruch, 28 July 1929, in Gilbert, *Companion*, 28; *Morning Press* (Santa Barbara), 18 Sept. 1929, 7; WSC to CC, 19 Sept. 1929, in Gilbert, *Companion*, 88. McAdoo had been secretary of the treasury in the Wilson Administration when Churchill was first lord of the admiralty and later minister of munitions, so he and Churchill would at least have known about each other (William G. McAdoo, *Crowded Years, The Reminiscences of William G. McAdoo* [Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1931], esp. chaps. 24-27).
93. M.A. Boyle [Baruch's secretary] to Henry M. Robinson, telegram, 29 Aug. 1929, Robinson to Boyle, telegram, 7 Sept. 1929, both in Baruch Papers, Selected Correspondence, vol. 22 (1929), Mudd Manuscript Library, Princeton University. Baruch and Robinson had been together at the Versailles Conference (U. S. Department of State, Papers Relating to Foreign Relations of the United States, *The Paris Peace Conference, 1919*, vol. 3 [Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1943], 3; Hereford, *Whole Man*, 161.
94. Robert Hessen, *Steel Titan, The Life of Charles M. Schwab* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975), 212-16, 237-38; Charles Schwab to WSC, telegram, 9 Aug. 1929, in Gilbert, *Companion*, 41.
95. Randolph Churchill, *Churchill*, 2:572-74; William Randolph Hearst to WSC, telegram, 18 July 1929, WSC to Lord Beaverbrook, 20 July 1929, the last two in Gilbert, *Companion*, 22.
96. Gilbert, *Companion*, 30 n. 1; WSC to Bernard Baruch, 20 July 1929, in Baruch Papers, Selected Correspondence, vol. 22 (1929), Mudd Manuscript Library, Princeton University; WSC to CC, 25 Sept. 1929, in Gilbert, *Companion*, 95.
97. WSC, *Telegraph*, 23 Dec. 1929, 8.
98. Ibid.
99. U. S. Bureau of the Census, Fifteenth Census: 1930, *Abstract* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1933), 84.
100. Manchester, *Last Lion*, 842.
101. Weidhorn, "America," 33-34; Harbutt, *Iron Curtain*, 17.
102. H. C. Allen, *Great Britain and the United States, A History of Anglo-American Relations (1783-1952)* (London: Odhams Press, 1954), 96.
103. Bradford Perkins, *The Great Rapprochement, England and the United States, 1895-1914* (New York: Atheneum, 1968), 81-83; Stuart Anderson, *Race and Rapprochement, Anglo-Saxonism and Anglo-American Relations, 1895-1904* (East Brunswick, N. J.: Associated University Presses, 1981), 174-75.
104. *New York Times*, 26 Oct. 1929, 3.
105. WSC, *Telegraph* 18 Nov. 1929, 10.
106. Robert Rhodes James, ed., *Winston S. Churchill, His Complete Speeches, 1897-1963*, vol. 8 (New York: Chelsea House, 1974), 8709-10. For a collection of Churchill's speaking and writing to the subject, see Kay Halle, ed., *Winston Churchill on America and Britain, A Selection of His Thoughts on Anglo-American Relations* (New York: Walker, 1970), which includes three of the *Telegraph* pieces.
107. Gilbert, *Churchill*, 5:142, 225-26; A. J. P. Taylor, "The Statesman," in Taylor, *Churchill*, 28, 32.
108. Manchester, *Last Lion*, 790.
109. Gilbert, *Churchill*, 4: esp. 227, 440; Harbutt, *Iron Curtain*, 23-30.
110. Gilbert, *Churchill*, 5:49-52.
111. Manchester, *Last Lion*, 870-73; Gordon A. Craig, "Churchill and Germany," in Robert Blake and Wm. Roger Louis, eds., *Churchill* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1993), 32.
112. Winston S. Churchill, *The Second World War*, vol. 1, *The Gathering Storm* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1948), 38-51. For an even-handed discussion of the whole work, see Piers Brendon, *Winston Churchill, A Biography* (New York: Harper & Row, 1984), 205-06.

Liss, "Bird's Eye Views," pp. 176-185.

1. Leonard Michaels, David Reid, and Raquel Scherr, eds., *West of the West: Imagining California* (New York: Harper Collins, 1989), 145.
2. Ibid., 168.
3. John W. Reps, *Cities on Stone: Nineteenth Century Lithograph Images of the Urban West* (Fort Worth: Amon Carter Museum, 1976), 2.
4. John W. Reps, *Birds Eye Views: Historic Lithographs of North American Cities* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1998), 8.
5. Harry T. Peters, *California on Stone* (New York: Doubleday Doran, Garden City, 1935).

James, "The City on the Hill," pp. 186-203.

1. Bridges, Amy T., "Journal kept on a Raymond Excursion from Massachusetts to California and return, including a 3 month stay at the Raymond Hotel in South Pasadena, the Del Monte Hotel, and in San Francisco, 1886-1887." Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, Calif., Huntington Manuscript 48978, not paginated; hereafter cited as Bridges's Diary. Her diary still shows the faint imprint of the hyacinths and other pressed flowers.

 The "City on the Hill," was a metaphor used by the early American religious community to describe the "perfect place" of salvation. Pasadena's founders thought of their creation as a sanctuary where they could escape from the travails of the late nineteenth century.
2. Thomas D. Carpenter, "Pasadena: Resort Hotels and Paradise," *Castle Green Times*, Pasadena, California, 1984.
3. Charles Frederick Holder, *Southern California: Its Climate, Trails, Mountains, Canyons, Watering Places, Fruits, Flowers and Game. A Guide Book* (Los Angeles: Los Angeles Times-Mirror Company, 1888). Also see Holder's *All About Pasadena and Its Vicinity* (Boston: n.p., 1889). The single most authoritative book on migrating to southern California in the post-war years was Charles Nordoff's *California for Health, Wealth and Residence* (New York: Harper and Bros., 1873).
4. The boom was an extraordinary event in real estate speculation; parcels were bought and sold, almost exclusively on the margin, that is, without the use of hard currency, dozens of times each week. See J. W. Wood, *The History of Pasadena*; Henry Markham Page, *Pasadena: The Early Years* (Los Angeles: Privately printed by Lorrin Morrison, 1964); and Hiram Reid, *The History of Pasadena* (Pasadena, Calif.: Pasadena History Company, 1895) for succinct observations on the impact of the boom on the life of Pasadena. Also see Glen Dumke, *The Boom of Southern California* (San Marino, Calif.: The Henry Huntington Library, 1944); and Carey McWilliams, *Southern California Country* (N.Y.: Meredith Press, 1946), 144-45.
5. *The Pasadena Daily News*, June 6, 1915, 1. The "business and bustle" quote is from Bridges's Diary.
6. There is no single source on the history of the labor movement in Pasadena; this essay is a partial recovering of the community's working-class history. By the end of the first decade of the new century, however, trade union membership was strong enough to claim two seats on the city council, as well as influence on a number of important municipal projects including light and power. By 1910, *The Citizen*, the most influential American Federation of Labor newspaper in the western states, devoted more space to the "Pasadena Department" than any city in greater southern California except Los Angeles.
7. John S. Blocker, "'Give to the Winds Thy Fears': The Women's Temperance Crusade, 1873-1874," *Quarterly*, 85-161, is an excellent analysis of why women were so heavily involved in the national crusade. The Pasadena temperance movement, however, is a study in contradictions as women, especially the Women's Christian Temperance Union, played a secondary role to men in this late-century confrontation. Also see Barbara Leslie Epstein, *The Politics of Domesticity: Women, Evangelism, and Temperance in Nineteenth-Century America* (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1981); Elliott West, *The Saloon on the Rocky Mountain Mining Frontier* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1979), and John J. Rumbarger, *Profits, Power, and Prohibition* (Albany, N.Y.: SUNY Press, 1989), 3-20, 123-83. For a discussion of the Indiana Colony in Pasadena, see James H. Madison, "Taking the Country Barefooted: The Indiana Colony in Southern California," *California History* 69:3 (Fall 1990): 236-49, 307-10.
8. See Amos Throop's autobiographical sketch, written in 1875: "Memorandum of a few of the Incidents of my Past Life," (n.p.) in the folder "California Institute of Technology Historical Files," Box 1.5, California Institute of Technology Archives, Pasadena.
9. Henry Markham Page, *Pasadena: Its Early Years*, 78.
10. Hiram Reid, *The History of Pasadena*, 240-43. The reference to Beebe's smile comes from Wood, *Pasadena, California*, 223. For the reference to the brass band and Beebe's "well-liked" status, see *The Valley Union*, February 24, 1884, 1. The newspaper was edited by Wood and J. E. Clarke; both ended up playing prominent roles in the ensuing "Whiskey Wars."
11. Reid, *History of Pasadena*, 242; Wood, *Pasadena*, 224.
12. Reid, *History of Pasadena*, 242-43; for reference to the flag draped door, see Wood, *Pasadena*, 223. One of the WCTU delegates was Reid's wife, Dr. Rachel Reid, Pasadena's first woman physician; Reid, 242.
13. Reid, *History of Pasadena*, 242-43; Wood, *Pasadena*, 242.
14. As an illustration, the civic leadership in 1909, led by prominent Republican newspaper publisher Lon Chapin, crafted a response to the growing power of the socialist labor "fusion"—a radical left, trade union collaboration that nearly resulted in the election of three socialists to the city's school board. The mechanics of that response—which the day before the election was to smear the socialist candidates as "traitors" and "anti-Americans" and then the day after the election suggest the socialist defeat came because the labor/left fusion dared challenge the conventional wisdom that "party politics" were not part of school board elections, although every candidate other than the three socialists was Republican. Forty years later, during the early 1950s, the city's elite responded to the "threat" of "socialistic schools" by smearing the reputation of the school superintendent, branding him a "socialist" and "fellow traveler." The elite then suggested his resignation came because he was "unresponsive" to parents' needs. In reality, the superintendent's demise came because he dared challenge the conventional racial and social class partitioning of the community.
15. Lois Banner, "Religious Benevolence as Social Control: A Critique of an Interpretation," *Journal of American History* 60:1 (June 1973): 23-41, and William A. Muraskins, "The Social-Control Theory in American History: A Critique, *Journal of Social History* 9:1 (Summer 1976): 559-69.
16. James Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), 1-16.
17. There are repeated references to the "goodness" of their actions in the temperance literature. See Ruth Bordin, *Women and Temperance* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1981), 3-33; Rumbarger, *Profits, Power, and Prohibition*, 69-151; and Epstein, *The Politics of Domesticity*. In addition, the idea of "saving" the working class has an extensive literature. See Paul Boyer, *Urban Masses and Moral Order in America* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1978), 191, 221-32; Ivan Greenberg, "The Half-Day Mill School Movement of the 1870s" in Michael F. Konig and Martin Kauffman, eds., *Education in Massachusetts: Selected Essays* (Westfield, Mass.: Institute for Massachusetts Studies, 1989), 65-77.
18. There were numerous Pasadenans involved with the Americanization movement. Most notable was Dr. J. H. McBride, a Pasadena psychiatrist and founder of Encitas Hospital, who served as member of the founding board of directors of the California Commission on Immigration and Housing, the most influential governmental arm of the na-

tional Americanization movement. See "Americanization: The California Answer," Commission of Immigration and Housing of California, June 1920 (Sacramento: California Printing Office, 1920). For a more complete discussion of the movement in the West see, Gayle Gullett, "Women Progressives and the Politics of Americanization in California, 1915-1920," *Pacific Historical Review* LXIV:1 (February 1996): 71-94; and David George Herman, "Neighbors on the Golden Mountain: The Americanization of Immigrants in California—Public Instruction as an Agency of Ethnic Assimilation, 1850-1933" (Ph.D. diss., U.C. Berkeley, 1981). For recent studies of Americanization nationally, see Laurie Olsen, *Made in America: Immigrant Students in Our Public Schools* (New York: Norton, 1997), and Paula S.Fass, *Outside In: Minorities and the Transformation of American Education* (New York: Oxford, 1989).

19 Wood, *Pasadena*, 228; Reid, *History of Pasadena*, comments on the five newspapers, 262; Henry Page Markham mentions that during the period the city constructed its first jail, aptly referred to by the antis as "Hotel de Booze;" Page, *Early Pasadena*, 99-100.

20. *The Standard*, Pasadena, 1888, 1

21. See "The Whiskey War in Pasadena," 1888, a pamphlet probably written by Reid, MSS Collection, Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, Calif. Although there is no specific discussion of temperance and the working class, the creation of ethnic or racial "otherness" is useful in Sarah Duetch, *No Separate Refuge: Culture, Class, and Gender on an Anglo-Hispanic Frontier in the American Southwest, 1880-1940* (New York: Oxford, 1987), 3-12, 13-40, and her essay "Landscape of Enclaves: Race Relations in the West, 1865-1990," in William Cronon, George Miles, and Jay Gitlin, eds., *Under an Open Sky: Rethinking America's Western Past* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1992), 110-131.

22. "The Whiskey War In Pasadena," Huntington Library.

23. Reid, *History of Pasadena*, 244.

24. *Valley Union*, 27 March, 1885, 1.

25. Reid, *History of Pasadena*, 244.

26. Wood, *Pasadena*, 224-26.

27. Reid, *History of Pasadena*, 244; also see Jack S. Blocker, *American Temperance Movements: Cycles of Reform* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1989) for data on liquor investments, drinking patterns, and profit.

28. Reid, *History of Pasadena*, 244.

29. Ibid.; 245; In Page, *Earlier Years*, 76, he makes little reference to incorporation as a method to control drinking, although he does suggest that the zealots were motivated by the state's incorporation laws.

30. Reid, *History of Pasadena*, 245.

31. Ibid.; Carpenter, *Resort Hotels and Paradise*, 14.

32. Reid, *History of Pasadena*, 245-46. Reid and his Los Angeles-based attorneys were opposed to the loop-hole.

33. Ibid., 250.

34. Ibid., 251; Carpenter, *Pasadena's Resort Hotels*, 14, believes Steil was forced from office for his position on drink, yet there appears to be little to support this idea.

35. Wood, *Pasadena*, 227.

36. Reid, *History of Pasadena*, 257.

37. Ibid., 264, 267-68.

38. Ibid., 273.

39. Ibid., 273-74.

40. Ibid., 275.

41. *Valley Union*, 15 September, 1890, 4; Reid, *History of Pasadena*, 276, notes Twaits was arrested again in 1891.

42. Reid, *History of Pasadena*, 276.

43. Ibid. 276.

44. Ernest Hurst Cherrington, ed., *The Anti-Saloon League Yearbook*, 1913, (Westerville, Ohio: ASLA, 1913), 46.

45. Gwendolyn Mink, "The Lady and the Tramp: Gender, Race, and the Origins of the American Welfare State," Linda Gordon, ed., *Women, the State, and Welfare*, (Madison: Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1990), 92-93.

46. Gordon, *Women, the State, and Welfare*, introduction, 25-26.

47. Richard White, "Race Relations in the American West," *American Quarterly* 38:3 (Fall 1986): 394-416; Quintard Taylor, *In Search of the Racial Frontier: African-Americans in the American West, 1528-1990* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1998); Sarah Deutch, "Landscape of Enclaves," 110-31; Mink, "The Lady and the Tramp," 92-98.

48. John Higham, *Strangers in the Land* (Chicago: Atheneum, 1966, 3rd. edition), 62-63, 80-87. See Reid, *History of Pasadena*, 505, for a description of the APA in Pasadena.

49. See Bridges's Diary for quote on "strange and incomprehensible ways." See Boyer, *Urban Masses*, 125, 126, 128, for a discussion of the 1873 depression and labor problems. See Paul Ong, "An Ethnic Trade: The Chinese Laundries in Early California," *Journal of Ethnic Studies* 8, 95-99, for a discussion of Chinese labor in California.

50. Ong, "An Ethnic Trade," 100; Paul Sui, "The Chinese Laundryman; A Study of Social Isolation," (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1953);"The Chinese Laundry on Second Street: Papers on Archeology at the Woodland Opera House Site," *California Archeology Reports*, No. 24 (Sacramento: State of California, Dept. of Parks and Recreation, Sept. 1984).

51 *United States Census*, 1880 Population Schedules; California—City and County of Los Angeles, "Pasadena Village."

52. Ong, "An Ethnic Trade," 95.

53. In 1875, according to Reid, *History of Pasadena*, 153-54, a German named Rosenbaum opened a small store on South Orange Grove Avenue where, amongst his pharmaceuticals, millinery, and pickle barrel, he sold liquor. There was such a public outcry that he was forced to abandon his store. Reid did not clarify whether he sold or rented the building. He did note that the building became a Chinese laundry.

54. Ibid. See Reid's description of the Chinese wash house eviction, 153–154; Henry Tsai Shi-Shin, *The Chinese Experience in America* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986), for references to the thirty-eight anti-Chinese riots in the Western states.

55. *Valley Union*, 8 November, 1885, 1.

56. See Harris Newmark, *Sixty Years in Southern California, 1853-1913*, 3rd. ed. (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1930, 432-34, for a discussion of the Los Angeles riot. "The Chinese Laundry on Second Street: Papers on Archeology at the Woodland Opera House Site" cites a Woodland newspaper demanding the Chinese in that community be banned to an area on the outskirts of town and "a fifty foot wall be built" to keep them confined. Also see Ong, "An Ethnic Trade," 106-107.

57. *Valley Union*, 8 November, 1885, 1.

58. *Los Angeles Daily Times*, 8 November, 1885, 1.

59. *Valley Union*, 8 November, 1885, 1.

60. Kevin Starr, *Inventing the Dream: California through the Progressive Era* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 107.

Corman, "Teaching—and Learning from—Carey McWilliams," pp. 204-224.

1. The roots of this article are buried deep in work I began in a graduate seminar with Michael Denning at Yale University. Its trunk grew stronger through collaboration and conversations with John Mack Faragher and Aaron Sachs, with whom I am working to create an annotated edition of the short, published writings of Carey McWilliams. I especially want to acknowledge Aaron's research, which turned up McWilliams's writings in periodical form, many of which would otherwise have escaped my notice. I presented an earlier version of this essay at the Western History Association conference in San Diego, October 6, 2001.

2. Carey McWilliams, *The Education of Carey McWilliams* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1979), 26.
3. McWilliams, *The Education*, 33.
4. The single best analysis of McWilliams's radicalization comes from attorney and scholar Lee Ann Meyer. See her unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, "Great Exception: Carey McWilliams' Path to Activism," The Claremont Graduate School, 1996. See also Wilson Carey McWilliams, "Foreword," *Fool's Paradise: A Carey McWilliams Reader* (Berkeley: Heyday Books, 2001), ix-xvii; Greg Critser, "The Making of a Cultural Rebel: Carey McWilliams, 1924-1930," *Pacific Historical Review* 55:2 (1986): 226-55. and Critser, "The Political Rebellion of Carey McWilliams," *UCLA Historical Journal*, 4 (1983): 34-65.
5. McWilliams, *The Education*, 66.
6. McWilliams, *Factories in the Field: The Story of Migratory Farm Labor in California* (Santa Barbara: Peregrine Publishers, Inc., 1979, c1939). Two outstanding examples of the articles this trip generated include "The Farmers Get Tough," *American Mercury*, October 1934, pp. 241-245 and "What's Being Done About the Joads?" *The New Republic*, Sept. 20, 1939, pp. 100, 178-80.
7. McWilliams, *Factories in the Field*, x; "A Man, a Place, and a Time: John Steinbeck and the Long Agony of the Great Valley in an Age of Depression, Oppression, Frustration, and Hope," *American West* 7 (May 1970): 4-8, 38-40, 62-64.
8. McWilliams, "A Man, a Place, and a Time," 62. Senator Robert M. LaFollette, Jr., of Wisconsin, chaired a subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Education and Labor, which investigated rights of free speech and labor.
9. McWilliams, *The Education*, 134.
10. Many scholars have fought this parthenogenic quality of New Western history. See the following for a spectrum of critiques: Stephen Aron, "Lessons in Conquest: Towards a Greater Western History," *Pacific Historical Review* 63:2 (1994): 125-47; John R. Wunder, "What's Old About the New Western History: Race and Gender, Part I," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 85:2 (1994): 50-58; Wunder, "What's Old About the New Western History? Part Two: Environment and Economy," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 89:2 (1998), 84-96; Wunder, "What's Old About the New Western History? Part III: Law," *Western Legal History* 10:1-2 (1997): 84-116; and volume 53:2 (1997) of *Arizona Quarterly*, which showcased articles by Krista Comer, Sally K. Fairfax and Lynn Huntsinger, Jerome Frisk, Carl Gutierrez-Jones, and Forrest G. Robinson tracing the historiography of the New Western History.
11. See William Cronon, George Miles, and Jay Gitlin, eds., *Under an Open Sky: Rethinking America's Western Past* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1992); William Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago, Change, and the Great West* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1992); Ramón A. Gutiérrez, *When Jesus Came, the Corn Mothers Went Away: Marriage, Sexuality, and Power in New Mexico* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1991); Patricia Nelson Limerick, *The Legacy of Conquest: The Unbroken Past of the American West* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1987); Limerick, *Something in the Soil: Legacies and Reckonings in the New West* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2000); Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1610-1815* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991); White, *"It's Your Misfortune and None of My Own": A History of the American West* (Norman: Oxford University Press, 1991); White, *The Organic Machine* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1995); and Donald Worster, *Dust Bowl: The Southern Plains in the 1930s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979); Worster, *Nature's Economy: A History of Ecological Ideas* (1977; Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985); Worster, *Rivers of Empire: Water, Aridity, and the Growth of the American West* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1985).
12. For early praise, see especially Donald J. Pisani, "Deep and Troubled Waters: A New Field of Western History?" *New Mexico Historical Review* 63:4 (1988): 311-31; Michael P. Malone, "Beyond the Last Frontier: Toward a New Approach to Western American History," *Western Historical Quarterly* 20:4 (1989): 409-27; and William Deverell, "Fighting Words: The Significance of the American West in the History of the United States," *Western Historical Quarterly* 25:2 (1994): 185-206. I am certainly not alone in my wish to acknowledge McWilliams's importance. Patricia Limerick, herself, counts McWilliams as an early influence. Others looking to McWilliams to ground the New Western history include Forrest G. Robinson, "Remembering Carey McWilliams," *Western American Literature* 34:4 (2000): 411-33, and Susan Lee Johnson, "Gift Horses: Influence, Insurgence, Interdisciplinarity in Western Studies," *Western American Literature* 34:1 (1999): 78-91.
13. Richard Slotkin, *Regeneration Through Violence: The Mythology of the American Frontier, 1600-1860* (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1973); Slotkin, *The Fatal Environment: The Myth of the Frontier in the Age of Industrialization, 1800-1890* (New York: Atheneum, 1985); Slotkin, *Gunfighter Nation: The Myth of the Frontier in Twentieth-Century America* (New York: Atheneum, 1992); McWilliams, "Myths of the West," *North American Review* 232 (November 1931): 424.
14. Carey McWilliams, "Look What's Happened to California," *Harper's Magazine*, October 1949, pp. 199, 21-29.
15. Jeremiah Evarts (1781-1831), a Boston lawyer and philanthropist, was a founder of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM). A staunch opponent of Indian removal, he was also editor of the periodical the *Panoplist*. Samuel Austin Worcester (1798-1859) was a missionary to the Cherokees in Tennessee and Georgia, where he was imprisoned for refusing to swear allegiance to the State of Georgia or leave his mission. Later, in Indian Territory, he worked to re-establish an ABCFM mission at Park Hill and continued running the printing press that produced newspapers, hymns, religious tracts, and books of the Bible in the Cherokee syllabary. Theodore Freylinghausen (1787-1862), attorney general of New Jersey and U.S. senator, spoke passionately against Indian removal. He subsequently served as chancellor of New York University and president of Rutgers College.
16. Wilson Carey McWilliams, *A Fool's Paradise*, xii.
17. McWilliams, *The Education*, 84.
18. Telephone interview, Robert Sherrill to Catherine A. Corman, February 6, 2001. Notes in the possession of the author.
19. Richard Louv, "Carey McWilliams Returns to His Roots," *San Diego Magazine*, January 1980, 236.
20. Carey McWilliams, "Personal Note," *The Nation*, September 20, 1965, pp. 201, 21-27.
21. Carey McWilliams, "What Does America Fear? Is It the Nameless Name of Fear Itself?" *United Nations World*, May 1948, pp. 2, 31-33; "The Outmoded Wall: Germany and the East," *The Nation*, August 28, 1967, pp. 205, 138-141.
22. Carey McWilliams, "Finding a Home for Ideas," *Current*, February 1975, pp. 170, 19-26.
23. McWilliams, "Finding a Home for Ideas," 20.
24. Alexander Saxton, "Goodbye to a Colleague: Carey McWilliams, 1905-1980," *Amerasia Journal*, 1980, 77, vi-vii.
25. Telephone interview, Robert Sherrill; personal interview, Victor Navasky to Catherine A. Corman, July 14, 1999, notes in the possession of the author.
26. Telephone interview, Robert Sherrill.
27. Personal interview, Victor Navasky.

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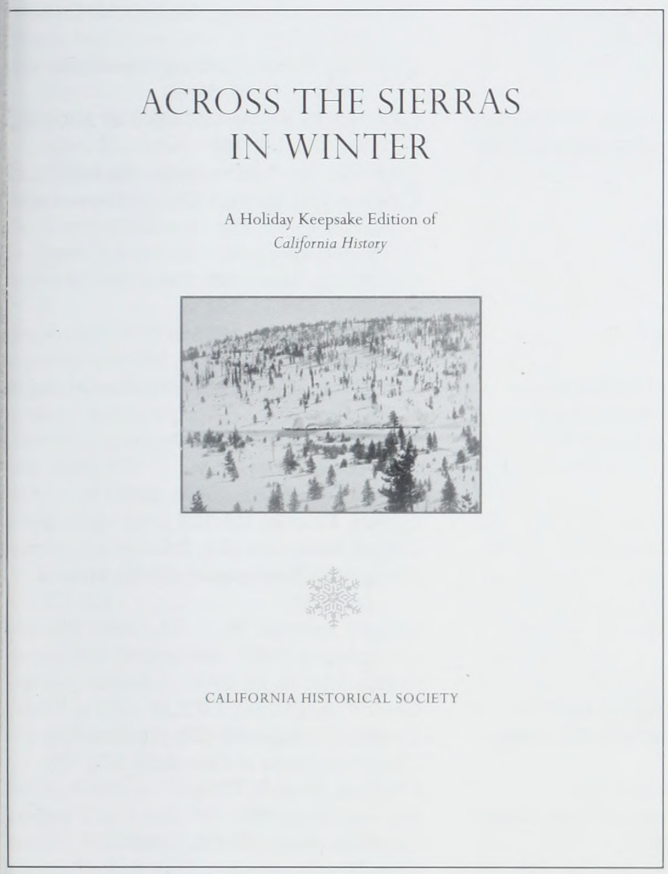
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